Public Declamations

DISPUTATIO

Editorial Board
Dallas G. Denery II, *Bowdoin College*
Holly Johnson, *Mississippi State University*
Clare Monagle, *Macquarie University*
Cary J. Nederman, *Texas A&M University*

Founding Editors
Georgiana Donavin, *Westminster College*
Richard Utz, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Previously published volumes in this series are listed at the back of the book.

VOLUME 27

PUBLIC DECLAMATIONS

Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo

Edited by

Georgiana Donavin
and Denise Stodola

BREPOLS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

© 2015, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2015/0095/136
ISBN: 978-2-503-54777-0
e-ISBN: 978-2-503-54827-2
Printed in the EU on acid-free paper

Contents

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction
GEORGIANA DONAVIN and DENISE STODOLA ix

Martin Camargo: *Curriculum Vitae* xvii

Part I. Commentaries and Ciceronian Traditions

Affectio in the Tradition of the *De inventione*: Philosophy and Pragmatism
RITA COPELAND 3

Master William of Champeaux and Some Other Early Commentators on the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*
JOHN O. WARD 21

The *De inventione* Commentary by Manegold (of Lautenbach?) and its Place in Twelfth-Century Rhetoric
KARIN MARGARETA FREDBORG 45

'Ironical censors of all': Thomas Nashe and the Sixteenth-Century Commentary Tradition
JOHN PENDERGAST 65

Part II. Documents and Epistles

Letter Writing and Sophistic Careers in Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists*
CAROL POSTER 83

‘Rex Celi Deus’: John Gower’s Heavenly Missive
GEORGIANA DONAVIN 103

Ends and Beginnings in London Merchant Epistolary Rhetoric, *c.* 1460–1520
MALCOLM RICHARDSON 125

Part III. Literature and Theory

Manifestations of Otherness in *Sir Perceval of Gales*: Witches, Saracens, and Giants
JOERG O. FICHTE 149

Spatial Rhetoric in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*
DENISE STODOLA 173

Part IV. Arts and Education

Commentary on *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus*, a Twelfth-Century Guide to Prayer and Meditation Composed in France at the Augustinian Abbey of St Victor under the Tutelage of Hugh
TIMOTHY SPENCE 191

Educating the Senses on Love or Lust: Richard de Fournival and Peter of Limoges
RICHARD NEWHAUSER 213

Part V. Rhetoric and Performance

Rhetoric and Remedies: Or, How to Persuade a Plant in Anglo-Saxon England
LORI ANN GARNER 231

Performing Dido
MARJORIE CURRY WOODS 253

Two Medieval Concepts of Lingual Creativity
JAMES J. MURPHY 267

Index 283

Tabula Gratulatoria 289

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This *Festschrift* conveys the editors' gratitude to Martin Camargo, teacher and friend. To produce it, we happily relied on the expertise and dedication of the contributors and on the meticulous attentions of our series editor, Holly Johnson, and the Brepols staff. Special thanks go to Guy Carney and Deborah A. Oosterhouse, who in their own remarkable ways made this volume possible. We also appreciate the help that we have received from our respective institutions, Kettering University and Westminster College. At Westminster, we were fortunate to have aid in proofreading and indexing from Georgiana Donavin's incomparable student assistant, Jordyn Page.

INTRODUCTION

Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola

A senior professor suggested the project; a former student enthusiastically set to work; a colleague who had started a book series could bring the project to publication. So began this *Festschrift* for Martin Camargo, beloved scholar, teacher, and friend. Although he looks forward to many years of productivity, the timing was right to honour this internationally recognized authority on medieval rhetoric, education, and literature. And though we do not present this gift at his retirement, *Public Declamations* pays compliment to a lifetime of distinguished service in academe. Of particular distinction are Camargo's abilities to lay historical and conceptual groundwork, offer original insights, and generously share his expertise. These gifts coexist with the steady, affable nature that has endeared him to scholars and students alike. In sum,

---

Georgiana Donavin is Professor of English at Westminster College, where she teaches early literature and Latin. She has published several articles and a book (*Incest Narratives and the Structure of Gower's Confessio Amantis*) on the fourteenth-century English poet John Gower, on whom she writes for this volume. Her most recent book is *Scribit Mater: Mary and the Language Arts in the Literature of Medieval England*. This *Festschrift* is one of several anthologies that she has co-edited, including the first volume in the Disputatio series, *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*.

Denise Stodola is Associate Professor of Communication at Kettering University, where she teaches courses in literature, humanities, communication, and leadership ethics. She has published articles on the teaching of writing in the medieval and modern periods, as well as on the multimodality of rhetoric in modern ecological movements. In addition, she supplied the chapter on 'The Medieval Period' for *The Present State of Scholarship in the History of Rhetoric: A Twenty-First Century Guide* (2010). Interested in ethics and affect in medieval literature (the latter addressed by her essay for this volume), she is also interested in the teaching of writing in the Middle Ages and its continuities in — and differences from — modern pedagogical practices.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. ix–xxvii BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107445

Camargo embodies Cato's ideal of the *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, a good man, expert in speaking.[1]

Camargo received his PhD in English from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1978, and his career has come full circle, since he now serves as professor of English, medieval studies, and classics at the same institution. During his doctoral studies, he showed the same dedication to medieval manuscript work that makes his scholarship so valuable today: he spent the year of 1974–75 at the École des Hautes Études, Paris, studying Latin codicology. John O. Ward, who has known him since those days in Paris, comments that Camargo 'picks up languages easily, but carries them all so lightly that one is often not aware of his skills, until one sees him chatting away to someone in French or German!'[2] Camargo's early mastery of codicological and language proficiencies has paid dividends throughout many decades in his ability to edit, translate, and assess the contexts for and genres of literary and rhetorical texts.

Camargo has spent most of his career at two institutions: before returning to the University of Illinois, he was professor of English at the University of Missouri–Columbia (1980–2003). At both universities he offered his interpersonal and organizational gifts in administrative positions: he served as Missouri's English Department Chair from 2000 to 2003, and then as Illinois's English Department Head from 2003 to 2008. As we are writing, Camargo is Interim Associate Dean for Humanities and Interdisciplinary Programs for Illinois's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Beyond the demands of his home institution, his professional responsibilities extend to work on editorial boards, dissertation committees, and tenure reviews. He is often invited to provide a lecture; whether plenary speaker or panel member, he delivers edifying and entertaining discourses that are long remembered. During the last several years, he has brought his leadership experiences and scholarly acumen to officers' posts at the International Society for the History of Rhetoric, and during the planning of this *Festschrift* he completed a two-year term as president. The curriculum vitae appended to this introduction attests to the wide range of his commitments and the many awards he has received for carrying them out expertly. It is astonishing that amidst so many diverse activities Camargo has proven himself such an accomplished scholar.

---

[1] In a fragment of a letter to his son, Cato the Elder defines the orator as a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. Quintilian famously popularizes the definition in Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, XII, 1.1, <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/quintilian/quintilian.institutio12.shtml>.

[2] John O. Ward, email to Georgiana Donavin, 20 May 2013.

Camargo's scholarship, as Rita Copeland notes, ranges as widely as his many professional activities. She writes:

> His work is so rich and enters into so many arenas that I can hardly conceive or write anything without citing him. What most matters to me about his work, and what I most admire, is that it goes beyond interpreting known histories to retrieving histories previously unknown. He brings us into closer contact with the origins of our own profession as teachers of 'humane letters'.[3]

With his early projects on dictaminal (letter writing) instruction, Camargo began to uncover histories of discursive and pedagogical practices and the manifestation of that instruction in poetry, especially the Middle English verse love epistle.[4] Throughout his career, Camargo has continued to evaluate the impact of the *dictatores* on medieval literature, and he has gone far beyond generic definitions and practices to laying out the educational and historical contexts for medieval missives. The recent collection by Camargo, *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric*, showcases the many ways that his work is foundational in this field.[5] By providing editions, such as the revised version of Margaret Nims's translation of the *Poetria Nova* or the *Tria sunt* (currently in progress), Camargo reveals the thorough groundwork he has laid on the way to influential and original insights, such as those on medieval classroom performance or the impact of Oxford Benedictines on fourteenth-century English rhetorical study.[6]

As Camargo uncovers manuscripts and new pathways in medieval rhetoric, he informally conveys breakthroughs to colleagues and proceeds as if always involved in a congenial international collaboration. His magnanimity in sharing material and in responding to others' work in progress is also well known. Marjorie Curry Woods expresses her profound gratitude:

---

[3] Rita Copeland, email to Georgiana Donavin, 17 May 2013.

[4] For an example of Camargo's early projects on *dictamen* and on letters in medieval literature, respectively, see Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991) and Martin Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, Studien zur Englischen Philologie, n.s. 28 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991).

[5] Martin Camargo, *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

[6] *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, trans. by Margaret F. Nims, rev. edn, ed. by Martin Camargo (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010). For an example of Camargo's work on performance pedagogy, see Martin Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act', *New Medieval Literatures*, 9 (2007), 41–62. On Oxford Benedictines, see Martin Camargo, 'Rhetoricians in Black: Benedictine Monks and Rhetorical Revival in Medieval Oxford', in *New Chapters in the History of Rhetoric*, ed. by Laurent Pernot, International Studies in the History of Rhetoric, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 375–84.

> Martin has in so many ways often lightened my load. Not only has he been generous with praise and judicious in criticism, but also time after time when I have bemoaned tangential material I've come across and don't know what to do with, it turns out that he has just started working on that very kind of data. I cannot think of a greater relief than handing over a difficulty to someone who acts as if I'm doing him a favor![7]

In his collegial relationship with Woods, Camargo illustrates the knowledge and skill of the *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, who also places a high value on friendship and personal character. Similarly, in his interactions with students, Camargo models a true love of learning and evinces a deep respect for all present. He encourages each classroom community in constructing a new body of knowledge, and he acknowledges and synthesizes the many excellent ideas that surface in discussion. Having taught both graduate and undergraduate courses for many years, Camargo engages students in a variety of subjects, including the Pearl Poet, Harley lyrics, and the literary trajectory of Criseyde's character. Before becoming an interim associate dean at the University of Illinois, Camargo continued to offer topics in medieval literature as well as those developed from his expertise in medieval rhetoric, such as 'Writing Instruction from Classical Antiquity to Renaissance Humanism' and a class on medieval literary theory. All of Camargo's students, whose names he learns instantly and remembers long, have benefited from studying with a person of exceptional character and genial humour, qualities that prove how very *humane* he is, in all senses of the word. Several of Camargo's former students have contributed to this volume out of great admiration for their professor of medieval studies and their desire to share many wonderful memories.

Lori Garner and Denise Stodola recall Camargo's many conscientious efforts in a class on the Harley lyrics to be the best professor that he could be. One day, when the class was discussing musical notation and polyphony, Camargo focused on a particular lyric and attempted to describe two different musical parts. Garner recounts the rest of the story:

> He couldn't describe the music to his satisfaction, so he started singing the first part. Then he sang the second part. Beautifully. Then he apologized, very sincerely, for not being able to sing both parts for us simultaneously. Because that would

---

[7] Marjorie Curry Woods, email to Georgiana Donavin, 17 May 2013.

> have given us a better sense of the music. That amazing and rare combination of prepared, skilled, creative, humble, and ever-surprising is what I've always admired most about Martin.[8]

Both inside and outside of class, Camargo dedicates himself to student learning. Whether assisting with Latin translations in the university coffee shop, listening carefully during advising sessions, or driving with students to the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Camargo offers the benefits of his time and conversation. As Timothy Spence recalls, moments with Camargo have a profound effect on students' growth not only as scholars, but also as human beings:

> The peripatetic dialogs we had helped me develop well beyond my academic self. His intellectual patronage inspired me to think beyond the classroom and to carry the rules of rhetoric with me into the various worlds where I've been tossed in the years since we walked and talked together. Without Martin, I would never have known the words *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, nor would I have imagined or had the courage to try to live my life by them and the principles of decorum from which they stem.[9]

Like Spence, we draw courage from Camargo's example, and particularly from his capacities as a meticulous editor, as we present this *Festschrift*.

Public Declamations falls into five parts, each with a connection to Camargo's teaching or scholarship. In 'Commentaries and Ciceronian Traditions', we begin with the backbone of medieval rhetorical studies. Medieval rhetorical instruction was grounded in Cicero's *De inventione* and also in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, attributed at that time to Cicero.[10] In his own scholarship, Camargo has dealt extensively with the Ciceronian underpinnings of the *artes dictaminis et poetriae*. In 'Commentaries and Ciceronian Traditions', Rita Copeland examines the manner in which the *De inventione* affected discussion of the passions and virtue during the medieval period. John O. Ward focuses on William of Champeaux and Odalricus, their commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium*, and how Manegold may have influenced those commentaries, while Karin Margareta Fredborg emphasizes Manegold's humanistic and scholastic positions. Finally, John Pendergast's piece examines Thomas Nashe's 'Preface to Greene's Menaphon' and the ways in which Nashe uses the rhetorical function of the *accessus* to comment on his own culture and its deviations from medieval ideals.

---

[8] Lori Garner, email to Denise Stodola, 10 July 2013.

[9] Timothy Spence, email to Denise Stodola, 10 July 2013.

[10] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione*, in *Latin Library*, <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/inventione.shtml>, [accessed 17 August 2013]; [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).

Because Camargo is so well known for his work on medieval letter writing and documentary practices connected to burgeoning bureaucracies and clerical training in late medieval England, our second part is entitled 'Documents and Epistles'. Here, Carol Poster's essay argues that Philostratus's erotic letters constitute a primary pedagogical text. In the following two pieces discussing medieval *dictamen*, Georgiana Donavin connects John Gower's 'Rex Celi Deus', an epistolary poem, to a popular hymn, and Malcolm Richardson traces the decline of medieval letter-writing for business purposes in fifteenth-century London.

Part III, 'Literature and Theory', focuses on medieval literature and theoretical approaches and is inspired by Camargo's applications of rhetorical paradigms to vernacular literature in late medieval England. Camargo has taught a number of courses on the literature of this era, and in 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act', he demonstrates the impact of medieval rhetorical performance pedagogy on the most famous of late medieval English poets.[11] In Part III, Joerg Fichte harks back to Camargo's course at Missouri, 'Medieval Encounters with the Other'; Fichte argues that in the eponymous romance Sir Perceval of Gales continually confronts representatives of the 'Other', who transform the significance of the hero's death. Since Camargo has long been interested in the rhetoric of oral formulae in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Denise Stodola investigates the spatial rhetoric of this poem.

In Part IV, 'Arts and Education', Timothy Spence acknowledges his studies with Camargo in the various medieval rhetorical arts by providing a commentary and translation of *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus*. Spence's work explores the connections between the rhetorical arts and medieval instruction in the language of prayer. The second author in this section, Richard Newhauser, also focuses on education in comparing works by Richard de Fournival and Peter of Limoges; Newhauser demonstrates that Richard uses the senses as a catalyst for seduction, while Peter teaches his audience to filter sensory stimuli so that they may avoid the erotic.

---

[11] Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers'.

The final part, 'Rhetoric and Performance', continues to develop the topics of classroom pedagogy, rhetorical paradigms in literature, and medieval cultural rhetorical practices to which Camargo has dedicated his career. In her essay, Lori Garner discusses methods of direct address and apostrophe employed in the persuasion of personified plants in the Old English *Herbarium* and *Lacnunga*. Marjorie Curry Woods examines the instructions in glosses of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* for performing emotional speeches by Dido, the Queen of Carthage. Finally, James J. Murphy defines two types of medieval 'lingual creativity' which differ in the way that invention and arrangement interact.

By reflecting Camargo's contributions to medieval rhetorical, pedagogical, and literary history, *Public Declamations* constitutes one (small) expression of gratitude for the profound and positive effect that Martin Camargo, *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, has had on the contributors' lives and academic endeavours.

MARTIN CAMARGO: *CURRICULUM VITAE*

Education

PhD, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL (1972–78); Major: English
(no degree), École des Hautes Études, Paris (1974–75);
  Latin Codicology (with André Vernet)
AB, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ (1968–72); Major: Philosophy

Academic Appointments

Professor of English, University of Illinois–Urbana/Champaign: 2003 – present
Professor of Medieval Studies, University of Illinois–Urbana/Champaign: 2004 – present
Professor of Classics, University of Illinois–Urbana/Champaign: 2011 – present
Professor of English, University of Missouri–Columbia: 1992–2003
Associate Professor of English, University of Missouri–Columbia: 1985–92
Assistant Professor of English, University of Missouri–Columbia: 1980–85
Assistant Professor of English, University of Alabama–Tuscaloosa: 1979–80
Visiting Assistant Professor, University of Missouri–Columbia: 1978–79

Select Publications

Books and Monographs

Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012). Thirteen previously published essays (1981–2003), with introduction, corrections, and indices.

(Ed.) *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, trans. by Margaret F. Nims, rev. edn (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), with introduction.

(Ed.) *The Waning of Medieval 'Ars Dictaminis'*, special issue, *Rhetorica*, 19.2 (Spring 2001). Editor's Introduction (pp. 135–40) and five essays.

Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English 'Artes Dictandi' and their Tradition (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995).

The Middle English Verse Love Epistle, Studien zur Englischen Philologie, n.s. 28 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991).

Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

Articles and Chapters

‘Epistolary Declamation: Performing Model Letters in Medieval English Classrooms’, in *Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing*, ed. by Linda C. Mitchell and Susan Green (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 2008); French translation: ‘La déclamation épistolaire: Performances de lettres-modèles dans les écoles anglaises médiévales’, trans. by Benoît Grévin in *Le ‘dictamen’ dans tous ses états: Perspectives de recherches sur la théorie et la pratique de l’‘ars dictaminis’ (XI^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)*, ed. by Benoît Grévin and Anne-Marie Turcan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

‘Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Memorial Verses’, in *Inventing a Path: Studies in Medieval Rhetoric in Honour of Mary Carruthers*, ed. by Laura Iseppi De Filippis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 81–119.

‘What Goes with Geoffrey of Vinsauf? Codicological Clues to Pedagogical Practices in England, *c.* 1225–*c.* 1470’, in *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom: The Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth, Disputatio, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 145–74.

‘Chaucer and the Oxford Renaissance of Anglo-Latin Rhetoric’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 34 (2012), 173–207.

‘In Search of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Lost “Long *Documentum*”’, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 22 (2012), 149–83.

‘The Late Fourteenth-Century Renaissance of Anglo-Latin Rhetoric’, *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 45.2 (2012), 107–33.

(with Marjorie Curry Woods) ‘Writing Instruction in Late Medieval Europe’, in *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Contemporary America*, ed. by James J. Murphy, 3rd edn (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 114–47.

‘From *Liber versuum* to *Poetria nova*: The Genesis of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Masterpiece’, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21 (2011), 1–16.

‘How (Not) to Preach: Thomas Waleys and Chaucer’s Pardoner’, in *Sacred and Profane in Chaucer and Late Medieval Literature: Essays in Honour of John V. Fleming*, ed. by Robert Epstein and William Robins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 146–78.

‘Special Delivery: Were Medieval Letter Writers Trained in Performance?’, in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 173–89.

‘Grammar School Rhetoric: The Compendia of John Longe and John Miller’, in *Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts*, ed. by Chris Cannon, Rita Copeland, and Nicolette Zeeman, special issue, *New Medieval Literatures*, 11 (2009), 91–112.

‘Rhetoricians in Black: Benedictine Monks and Rhetorical Revival in Medieval Oxford’, in *New Chapters in the History of Rhetoric*, ed. by Laurent Pernot, International Studies in the History of Rhetoric, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 375–84; Bulgarian translation: ‘Oratori v cherno: benediktinskite monasi i vazrazhdaneto na retorikata v srednovekoven Oksford’, trans. by Loran Perno and Lilia Metodieva in *Novi izsledvania po istoria na retorikata* (Sofia: Sofia University ‘St. Kliment Ohridski’ Press, 2010), pp. 346–55.

‘If You Can’t Join Them, Beat Them; or, When Grammar Met Business Writing (in Fifteenth-Century Oxford)’, in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 67–87.

‘Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act’, *New Medieval Literatures*, 9 (2007), 41–62.

‘Latin Composition Textbooks and *Ad Herennium* Glossing: The Missing Link?’, in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 267–88.

‘The State of Medieval Studies: A Tale of Two Universities’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 27 (2005), 239–47.

‘Chaucer’s Use of Time as a Rhetorical Topos’, in *Medieval Rhetoric: A Casebook*, ed. by Scott Troyan (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 91–107.

‘Defining Medieval Rhetoric’, in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, Disputatio, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 21–34.

‘The Pedagogy of the *Dictatores*’, in *Papers on Rhetoric V: Atti del Convegno Internazionale ‘Dictamen, Poetria and Cicero: Coherence and Diversification’, Bologna, 10–11 Maggio 2002*, ed. by Lucia Calboli Montefusco (Roma: Herder, 2003), pp. 65–94.

‘*The Book of John Mandeville* and the Geography of Identity’, in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imagination*, ed. by David A. Sprunger and Timothy S. Jones (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), pp. 67–84.

‘*Tria sunt*: The Long and the Short of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*’, *Speculum*, 74 (1999), 935–55.

‘“Non solum sibi sed aliis etiam”: Neoplatonism and Rhetoric in Saint Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana*’, *Rhetorica*, 16 (1998), 393–408.

‘Two Middle English Carols from an Exeter Manuscript’, *Medium Aevum*, 67 (1998), 104–11.

‘Rhetorical Ethos and the “Nun’s Priest’s Tale”’, *Comparative Literature Studies*, 33 (1996), 173–86.

‘“Si dictare veils”: Versified *Artes dictandi* and Late Medieval Writing Pedagogy’, *Rhetorica*, 14 (1996), 265–88.

‘Where’s the Brief? The *Ars Dictaminis* and Reading/Writing Between the Lines’, *Disputatio*, 1 (1996), 1–17.

‘Between Grammar and Rhetoric: Composition Teaching at Oxford and Bologna in the Late Middle Ages’, in *Rhetoric and Pedagogy: Its History, Philosophy, and Practice;*

Essays in Honor of James J. Murphy, ed. by Winifred Bryan Horner and Michael Leff (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 1995), pp. 83–94.

‘Beyond the *Libri Catoniani*: Models of Latin Prose Style at Oxford University ca. 1400’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 56 (1994), 165–87.

‘A Twelfth-Century Treatise on *Dictamen* and Metaphor’, *Traditio*, 47 (1992), 161–213.

‘The Consolation of Pandarus’, *Chaucer Review*, 25 (1991), 214–28.

‘The Varieties of Prose *Dictamen* as Defined by the *Dictatores*’, *Vichiana*, 3.1 [Proceedings of the International Conference on Rhetoric, Camigliatello Silano, Italy, 11–13 September 1989] (Naples: Loffredo Editore, 1991, for 1990), pp. 61–73.

‘Toward a Comprehensive Art of Written Discourse: Geoffrey of Vinsauf and the *Ars Dictaminis*’, *Rhetorica*, 6 (1988), 167–94.

‘Issy’s Sisters’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, 24 (1987), 362–65.

‘Oral-Traditional Structure in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*’, in *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry*, ed. by John M. Foley (Columbus, OH: Slavica Press, 1987), pp. 121–37.

‘The *Libellus de arte dictandi rhetorice* Attributed to Peter of Blois’, *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 16–41.

‘Medieval Rhetoric from St. Augustine to the Scholastics’, in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Wagner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983; paperback edn, 1986), pp. 96–124.

‘The English Manuscripts of Bernard of Meung’s *Flores dictaminum*’, *Viator*, 12 (1981), 197–219.

‘The Finn Episode and the Tragedy of Revenge in *Beowulf* ’, *Studies in Philology*, 78 (1981), 120–34.

‘The Metamorphosis of Candace and the Earliest English Love Epistle’, in *Court and Poet*, ed. by Glyn S. Burgess (Liverpool: Cairns, 1981), pp. 101–11.

‘The Verse Love Epistle: An Unrecognized Genre’, *Genre*, 13 (1980), 397–405.

Contributions to Reference Works and Anthologies

‘Virgil in the Medieval Rhetorical Tradition’, in *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, ed. by Richard Thomas and Jan Ziolkowski (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), p. 1081.

‘*Ars dictaminis* and *Ars dictandi*’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 138.

Introduction, translation, and annotation of excerpt from *Tria sunt*, in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*, ed. by Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 670–81.

‘Vinsauf, Geoffrey of (*fl.* 1208–1213)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), LVI, 555–56.

‘Ars Dictaminis’ and ‘Epistolary Rhetoric’, in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, ed. by Thomas O. Sloane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 50b–52a, 257b–61a.

'*Ars Dictaminis*', in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition*, ed. by Theresa Enos (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 36–38.

'*Ars Dictandi/Dictaminis*', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. by Gert Ueding (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), I, 1040–46.

(with James J. Murphy), 'The Middle Ages', in *The Present State of Scholarship in Historical and Contemporary Rhetoric*, ed. by Winifred Bryan Horner, rev. edn (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), pp. 45–83.

Recent Book Reviews

Review of *Breviarium de dictamine*, by Alberico di Montecassino, *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 924–26.

Review of *Disseminal Chaucer: Rereading the Nun's Priest's Tale*, by Peter Travis, *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 61 (2010), 807–08.

Review of *Language and Imagination in the 'Gawain'-Poems*, by J. J. Anderson, *JEGP*, 107 (2008), 133–35.

Review of *Latin Rhetoric and Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, by James J. Murphy, *Rhetorical Review*, 6.1 (2008), 5–7, <http://www.nnrh.dk/RR/feb08.html>.

Recent Refereed Conference Papers

'Chaucer and the Late Fourteenth-Century Renaissance of Anglo-Latin Rhetoric', Seventeenth International Congress, The New Chaucer Society, Siena, July 2010.

'From *Liber versuum* to *Poetria nova*: The Evolution of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Masterpiece', Forty-fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, May 2010.

'Masterpiece and Metonym: The Genesis of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*', Twenty-fourth Biennial Conference of the Rhetoric Society of America, Minneapolis, May 2010.

'Special Delivery: Performing Model Letters in the Medieval Classroom', Seventeenth Biennial Conference, International Society for the History of Rhetoric, Montreal, July 2009.

'How (Not) to Preach: Thomas Waleys and Chaucer's Pardoner', Sixteenth International Congress, The New Chaucer Society, Swansea, July 2008.

'Special Delivery: Were Medieval Letter Writers Trained in Performance?', Annual meeting, The Medieval Academy of America, Vancouver, April 2008.

Recent Invited Papers and Lectures

'"And if a rethor koude faire endite": When Chaucer Met Rhetoric', Annual Schick Lecture, Indiana State University, January 2013.

'Special Delivery: Performing Model Letters in Medieval English Classrooms', Queen Mary University of London, March 2012.

‘Chaucer and the Oxford Renaissance of Anglo-Latin Rhetoric’, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Bristol, February 2012.

‘In Search of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Lost “Long *Documentum*”’, The Warburg Institute, London, February 2012.

‘Chaucer and the Oxford Renaissance of Anglo-Latin Rhetoric’, Medieval English Research Seminar, Oxford University, January 2012.

‘The Treatise Called “Tria sunt” and the Revival of Rhetorical Studies at Oxford in the Late Fourteenth Century’, Visiting Fellows Colloquium, All Souls College, Oxford, January 2012.

‘In Search of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Lost “Long *Documentum*”’, J. R. O’Donnell Lecture in Medieval Latin Studies, Centre for Medieval Studies, Toronto, October 2011.

‘The Late Fourteenth-Century Renaissance of Anglo-Latin Rhetoric’, Plenary Lecture, Eighteenth Biennial Conference, International Society for the History of Rhetoric, Bologna, July 2011.

‘Special Delivery: Performing Model Letters in Medieval English Classrooms’, Medieval Studies Spring Lecture, Eastern Illinois University, March 2010.

‘Rhetoric as Medieval Episteme’, Featured Speaker, Biennial Convention, American Society for the History of Rhetoric, San Diego, November 2008.

‘Grammar School Rhetoric: The Compendia of John Longe and John Miller’, The Medieval Schoolroom and the Literary Arts: Grammar and its Institutions, Cambridge, July 2008.

Work in Progress

Edition and translation of rhetorical treatise *Tria sunt* [Pseudo-Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* (long version)]

Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Oxford: The ‘Tria sunt’ in its Context (book)

‘The Late Medieval Renaissance of Rhetoric at Oxford: A Documentary History’ (monograph)

Selected Fellowships and Grants

All Souls College, Oxford, Visiting Fellowship: Hilary Term, 2012
National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship: 2000
Research Grant, University of Missouri Research Board: 1996–97
Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Research Fellowship: 1987–88 and 1990
American Council of Learned Societies Grant for Travel to International Meetings Abroad: 1985 and 1994
American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship: 1984 and 1996–97
Fulbright Research Fellowship (Paris): 1974–75

Other Awards

Robert L. Schneider Award for Teaching and Service in the Department of English: 2008
Chancellor's Award for Outstanding Research and Creative Activity: 2001
Honorary Member, Senior Common Room, Keble College, Oxford: 1996–97
William T. Kemper Fellowship for Teaching Excellence: 1996
Wakonse Scholar: 1995
Wakonse Teaching Fellow: 1994
Gold Chalk Award for Outstanding Contribution to Graduate Education: 1993
Phi Kappa Phi: 1973

Teaching

University of Illinois

Undergraduate Courses

Medieval Chivalry, East and West
Troilus and Criseyde, from Benoît de Sainte-Maure to John Dryden (honors seminar)
Writing about Literature: The Literature of Purgatory
Introduction to Fiction

Upper-Division Courses

Troilus and Criseyde: Love and Loss in Medieval Troy
Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

Graduate Seminars

Medieval Literary Theory
The *Pearl* Poet
Writing Instruction from Classical Antiquity to Renaissance Humanism
Chaucer the Metapoet
21st-Century Chaucer

University of Missouri

Undergraduate Courses

Exposition
Introduction to Poetry
Introduction to Drama
Medieval Literature: The Chivalric Romance (honors seminar)
The Middle Ages and the Renaissance (honors humanities sequence)
Rereading/Revisualizing Malory and Dante (honors seminar)

Upper-Division Courses

Chaucer Survey
Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*
Medieval English Literature
Medieval Encounters with the Other (Writing Intensive)
Structure of American English
History of the English Language
Introduction to Literary Study (Writing Intensive)
Troilus and Criseyde, from Benoît de Sainte-Maure to John Dryden
The Capstone Experience (Writing Intensive)

Graduate Seminars

Chaucerian Narrative: Dream Vision and Romance
Chaucer as Imitator and Innovator
Chaucer and Critical Theory
Chaucer's Minor Works
Chaucer and the Rhetoricians
Middle English Narrative: The Dream Vision and the Romance
The *Pearl* Poet
Medieval Drama
Middle English Dialects and Early Modern English
Middle English Lyric Poetry
History of Rhetoric from Augustine to Ramus
Writing for Publication
Medieval Literary Theory
Writing Instruction from Classical Antiquity to Renaissance Humanism
Poetry and Purgatory: The Literary Legacy of a Medieval Invention

Professional Service

International Society for the History of Rhetoric: Governing Council (1997–2001); Chair, Conference Program Committee (1999–2001, 2005–07); Member, Conference Program Committee (2003–05); Vice-President (2009–11); President (2011–13)
Medieval Academy of America: Publications Advisory Board, 2004–08 (chair, 2006–07); Nominating Committee, 2004–05
Modern Language Association: Member, Delegate Assembly, 1988–90, 2011–14
Co-Editor, *JEGP*, 2009–present
Editorial Board, *JEGP*, 2003–09
Editorial Board, *Disputatio*, 1995–99
Editorial Board, *Rhetorica*, 1998–2002, 2003–present
Advisory Committee, *PMLA*, 2012–15
Advisory Board, *Classical and Modern Literature*, 1999–2003
Essays editor, *The Missouri Review*, 1981–87, 1989–90

Referee for *Chaucer Review*; *Classical and Modern Literature*; *Exemplaria*; *Mediaeval Studies*; *PMLA*; *Rhetorica*; *Rhetoric Review*; *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*; *Speculum*; *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*; Bedford/St. Martin's; Cambridge University Press; Catholic University of America Press; Cornell University Press; Garland Press; Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies; Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies; University of Missouri Press

External reviewer: English Department, University of Northern Iowa (2001); English Department, University of Texas–Austin (2007); English Department Journals, University of Iowa (2007); Research in English Language and Literature, Eight Public Universities in Taiwan (2007); English Department, The Ohio State University (2009); Department of Rhetoric and Writing, University of Texas–Austin (2010)

Consultant on Promotion and Tenure Cases:
- [to associate professor] Boston College, Indiana University Northwest, University of Texas–Austin, University of Kentucky, University of Virginia, University of Toronto
- [to full professor] University of Minnesota, Kent State University, SUNY–Albany, University of Denver, University of Alabama, New York University, University of California–Davis, University of Bristol (UK), Ball State University, University of Oregon

Humboldtian on Campus, 2008–10

Administrative and Service Appointments

University of Illinois

English Department

Department Head, 2003–08

Committees: Grade Review (chair, 2009–10), Graduate Admissions (2009–10), Grievance (chair, 2009–10, 2012–13), Library (2009–10), Graduate (2010–11), Writing Studies (2010–11)

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

Interim Associate Dean for Humanities and Interdisciplinary Programs (2014–present)
LAS Bylaws Committee (2012–13)
Interim Head, Department of the Classics (2011)
Ad Hoc Promotion Review Committee (2010)
Chair, Promotion and Tenure Committee, Classics Department (2009, 2010)
Chair, IEI Administrator Review Committee (2009)
LAS Executive Committee, 2006–08 (vice-chair, 2007–08), 2013
Search Committee, Head of Classics Department, 2006–07, 2007–08
Medieval Studies Advisory Committee, 2005–08, 2009–11
LAS Humanities Council, 2003–08 (chair, 2005–06)
Graduate Programs Committee, Center for Writing Studies (2003–11)

Urbana-Champaign Campus

Review of Student Code on Academic Integrity Task Force, 2008–13
Academic Caucus, 2005–06

University of Missouri

Department of English

Department Chair: 2000–03
Director of Graduate Studies: 1990–93
Course Coordinator, English 60 (Exposition): 1984–85
Director, English Honors Program: 1982–83
Course Director, English 2 (Poetry): 1978–79
Committees: Advisory (chair, 1993–94), Awards (chair, 1997–2000), Graduate Studies (chair, 1990–93), Undergraduate Studies, Lower Division Studies, Honors (chair, 1982–83), Lecture (chair, 1986–87), Screening, Hiring (chair, 1986–87, 1993–94, 1994–95, 1997–98), Linguistics, Elections (chair, 1990), Public Relations, Library, Salary Advisory (chair, 1998), Personnel, Teacher Evaluation, Rhetoric/Composition, Curriculum
Task Forces: Ad Hoc Salary Oversight, Course Implementation, Salary Structure and Procedures, Curriculum Revision

College

Medieval & Renaissance Studies Committee: 1980–84, 1986–87, 1989–96, 1997–2003 (chair, 1991–96, 1998–2000)
Arts & Science Linguistics Committee: 1980–84, 1985–87, 1989–96, 1998–2003
Arts & Science Interdisciplinary Studies Committee: 1990
Arts & Science Curriculum, Instruction, and Advising Committee: 1991–92
Arts & Science Promotion, Tenure and Membership Committee: 1994–96 (chair, 1995–96)

Campus

Honors College Council: 1982–83
Graduate Faculty Senate: 1984–87, 1989–95 (chair, Humanities Sector: 1986–87, 1991–93)
Campus Representative, Mellon Fellowships in the Humanities: 1984–87
Graduate School Fellowships and Scholarships Committee: 1986–87, 1993–95
Selection Committee, Chancellor's Awards for Outstanding Research and Creative Activity: 1986–87
Access Enhancement Program (summer internship for potential minority graduate students), Advisory Board: 1991–93
Graduate School Advisory Committee on Graduate Student Recruitment, Marketing, and Enrollment: 1992–93

Research Council, referee: 1992, 1994; member, 1994–96, 1997–99
Intercollegiate Athletics Committee: 1994–96, 1999–2002
Office of Research Advisory Committee: 1998–99
Faculty Fellow, Office of Research: 1999–2000
Department Chairs and Directors Steering Committee, 2000–03
Space Planning Advisory Committee, 2001–03

University System

Research Board: 1999
President's Leadership Development Program, 2000–01

Memberships

Modern Language Association
Medieval Academy of America
New Chaucer Society
International Society for the History of Rhetoric
American Society for the History of Rhetoric
Rhetoric Society of America
Early Book Society
American Friends of the British Library
American Association of University Professors
American Friends of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation
Campus Faculty Association

Part I

Commentaries and Ciceronian Traditions

AFFECTIO IN THE TRADITION OF THE *DE INVENTIONE*: PHILOSOPHY AND PRAGMATISM

Rita Copeland

The appearance of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in its authoritative Latin translation by William of Moerbeke (about 1269) may be said to have rebooted Western theoretical debates about the emotions in rhetoric.[1] But Aristotle's text was a late addition to medieval European thought about rhetoric. The Roman-Latin tradition of rhetoric had long supplied writers and commentators with perspectives on the emotions and had shaped Western scholarly outlooks for over a thousand years. Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical writings had been especially important conduits for medieval reception of classical thought on the passions. The Latin rhetorical tradition on the emotions, however, does not pass to the Middle Ages as a unified block of theory. In this essay, I examine some of the most significant pronouncements on emotion in the Ciceronian rhetoric that was actually well known to the Middle Ages, the

---

[1] I discuss the impact of Aristotle's treatment of the emotions in his *Rhetoric* in Rita Copeland, 'Pathos and Pastoralism: Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Medieval England', *Speculum*, 89 (2014), 96–127.

Rita Copeland is Rosenberg Chair in the Humanities and Professor of Classics, English, and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania. Her fields include the history of rhetoric, literary theory, and medieval learning. Her publications include *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (1991); *Pedagogy, Intellectuals and Dissent in the Middle Ages* (2001); *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475* (with I. Sluiter; 2009); and *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory* (with P. Struck; 2010). Her next book to appear will be the *Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, 800–1558.*

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 3–20 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107446

De inventione, and explore the late antique transformation of these ideas and their reception by one of the most prominent medieval expositors of Cicero, Thierry of Chartres.

Emotion in rhetoric is often considered in relation to style, the stirring of emotions through vivid language and the linking of certain figures to emotional response.[2] This is the most visible face of affective rhetoric, the concrete instantiations of emotion that derive from theoretical precept. But in rhetorical thought there is another, more fundamental role of emotion: as both resource for and product of inventional technique. In the Ciceronian theory that passed to the Middle Ages, emotion was linked inextricably with the *communes loci*, the techniques of generating arguments through standardized topics. It is this theoretical tradition that I examine here.

The major thematic patterns that emerge in the legacy of Roman and late Latin rhetorical thought about the emotions can be divided roughly into two parallel traditions. The first is a philosophical orientation that concerns the definition of an emotional state, descending from the basic Stoic thought in Cicero's *De inventione* and its incorporation into Neoplatonist commentary in late antiquity. The second is a more practical orientation, concerning the efficacy of emotional appeal, which is also formulated in the *De inventione* and finds further elaboration in the compendia of Martianus Capella and his contemporary Julius Severianus.

Affectio *in the Tradition of the* De inventione: *Rhetorical Reasoning and Moral Philosophy*

The *De inventione* was the most influential point of reference for medieval rhetorical thought. In its treatments of emotion at 1. 25. 36, 1. 53. 100–56. 109 (directions for arousing emotions in the peroration), and in 2. 53–58 (under the cardinal virtues), it does not offer anything like the dynamic and reflexive discussions in Book 2 of the mature *De oratore*, a work hardly known to the Middle Ages; nor does it have the detailed philosophical precision of *Tusculanae disputationes* Book 4, a work which was an important conduit for the transmission of Stoic thought to the Middle Ages. Yet the main definition of *affectio* at *De inventione* 1. 25. 36 received continuous and at times expansive attention, in spite of its laconic presentation of a theory of emotions, or perhaps even because of its curiously impacted arguments.

---

[2] Among many sources, see Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Thomas Bestul, 'The *Saturnalia* of Macrobius and the *Praecepts Artis Rhetoricae* of Julius Severianus', *Classical Journal*, 70 (1975), 10–16; on classical rhetoric, see Ruth Webb, 'Imagination and the Arousal of the Emotions in Greco-Roman Rhetoric', in *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, ed. by Susanna M. Braund and Christopher Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 112–27.

This definition has important ramifications because it comes in the course of a major theoretical account of the topics of invention for forensic oratory: the attributes of the person and of the act in the *confirmatio* or proof, the part of the oration that supports the case. These attributes form the core of the discussion of topical invention and were later (in Boethius's *De topicis differentiis* Book 4) compressed to form the theory of rhetorical circumstances, the considerations that make up the rhetorical hypothesis.[3] The attributes of the person which will serve as *loci* for arguments are *nomen*, *natura*, *victus*, *fortuna*, *habitus*, *affectio*, *studium*, *consilium*, *facta*, *casus*, and *orationes*. Here *affectio* is defined relative to *habitus*, on the one hand, and *studium*, on the other, because they are all states of mind or body:

> *Habitus* is what we call a constant or absolute perfection of mind or body in relation to a particular thing, such as the possession of a virtue or an art [...]. *Affectio* is a temporary upheaval, for some reason, of mind or body, for example joy, desire, fear, distress, illness, weakness, and other things found in the same category.
>
> *Studium* [zeal] is assiduous mental effort fervently applied to some object with the keenest pleasure, such as the study of philosophy, poetry, geometry, or letters. (1. 25. 36)[4]

The word 'commutatio' is appositive to 'affectio', and the sequence of *commutationes animi* — joy, desire, fear, and distress — further specifies the forms that emotional upheavals can take. These four particular emotions or mental conditions represent the basic Stoic classification of emotion into good and bad value, and present and future temporal axes.[5] Here, as elsewhere in classical Latin usage, *affectio* is any temporary disturbance ('ex tempore'), not only emotion. But the term is quite broad and even slippery. Cicero uses *affectio* in *De inventione* (here and at 1. 27. 41 and 2. 58. 176) to designate a passing state or more specifically an emotion, but in *Tusculanae disputationes* (4. 13. 29–30) he uses *perturbatio animi* to signify a passing disorder and *affectio* for a permanent (defective) disposition.[6]

---

[3] For background and references, see Michael Leff, 'Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*, Book IV', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 3–24, and Michael C. Leff, 'The Topics of Argumentative Invention in Latin Rhetorical Theory from Cicero to Boethius', *Rhetorica*, 1.1 (1983), 23–44.

[4] 'Habitum autem [hunc] appellamus animi aut corporis constantem et absolutam aliqua in re perfectionem, ut virtutis aut artis alicuius perceptionem [...]. Affectio est animi aut corporis ex tempore aliqua de causa commutatio, ut laetitia, cupiditas, metus, molestia, morbus, debilitas et alia, quae in eodem genere reperiuntur. Studium est autem animi assidua et vehementer ad aliquam rem adplicata magna cum voluptate occupatio, ut philosophie, poëticae, geometricae, litterarum'. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione*, ed. by E. Stroebel (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915). All translations here are my own.

The passage is particularly interesting from a rhetorical perspective. Cicero is laying out what would become the standard resource for a theory of topical invention, the attributes of the person and the act, which would form the core of the rhetorical *circumstantiae*. Even while emotion is presented under the impress of Stoic thought, as something that passes through the mind but is by nature impermanent and thus an aberration of reason, emotion here is still the necessary content of an inventional topic. Emotion is not simply something to recognize or think about in order to isolate and extirpate it, as the Stoic programme would require, but is also — or more importantly — something to think with, as the rhetorical programme demands. Thus we have a delicate but uneasy balance between two perspectives. In rhetorical terms, *affectio* is productive for reasoning, a resource for generating arguments. But in philosophical terms, *affectio* (mental and physical) is a disturbance, sharply distinguished from an abiding condition (*habitus*) and concerted attention (*studium*). The delicate balance rests on one important difference: in rhetorical invention, the orator thinks about the defendant's emotions but remains himself unaffected; in philosophical terms, one seeks to control and eliminate emotions in oneself. Yet that balance is further complicated, because even as rhetoric, like philosophy, defines emotion as fleeting, it locks onto any given emotional state as a reliable *locus* for supplying arguments. Rhetoric depends on emotion in order to exploit its argumentative value.

---

[5] An important source for the original Stoic system is *Tusculanae disputationes* 4. 6. 11–14. Among many studies of Cicero's Stoicism, see A. E. Douglas, 'Form and Content in the *Tusculan Disputations*', in *Cicero the Philosopher: Twelve Papers*, ed. by Jonathan G. F. Powell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 197–218, and Yelena Barasz, *A Written Republic: Cicero's Philosophical Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 140–49.

[6] On the Stoic vocabulary of *affectio* (state of mind) and *affectus* (*πάϑος*) and the influence in the Latin tradition of Seneca's use of the latter term, see Duncan Cloud, 'The Stoic *πάϑη*, "affectus" and the Roman Jurists', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung*, 123 (2006), 19–48.

This complication is reprised in the following chapters of *De inventione* in the discussion of the topics of attributes of the act (*attributa negotiis*), under the topic *modus*, often translated as 'manner' and defined by Cicero as a frame of mind in which the action was performed either with or without intention (*prudentia*, *imprudentia*). Under *imprudentia*, or lack of intention, we find two kinds of legal considerations (1. 27. 41): exonerating circumstance (*purgatio*), which comprises ignorance, accident, or necessity; and *affectio animi*, defined here specifically as emotions — distress, anger, love. Thus, the very spontaneity of passion, like the unpredictability of ignorance or accident, is a standard element of legal reasoning in which the orator can find an argument. Emotion is part of the structural underpinning of topical invention, recurring as a key term across the topical system.

The treatment of *affectio* in Victorinus's *Explanationes*, from the fourth century, certainly expands on Cicero's terse remarks, but compared to his other elaborations of the Ciceronian text, it may seem disappointingly short:

> *AFFECTIO* IS A TEMPORARY UPHEAVAL, FOR SOME REASON, OF MIND OR BODY. We say that *habitus* is the perfection of anything in mind or body. But by contrast, *affectio* is a starting up of anything in mind or in body which arises suddenly for some reason and is soon to pass away. For example if someone brings us good news and we become happy, or if we see something and we desire it, or we become fearful of something — say, being attacked — all of these are affections. With respect to the body, if we suddenly fall ill or somehow incapacitated, but only for a time, and then return to health, these and other similar things will be the affections of the body.[7]

Yet it is precisely because of his much greater expansion on *habitus* (close to tenfold the length of the Ciceronian text) that Victorinus needs to say comparatively little on *affectio*. In Cicero's topical treatment, *affectio* is useful as an index of the permanence of *habitus*: *affectio* is *ex tempore*, while *habitus* is *perfectio constans et absoluta*. The distinction itself will be a *locus* for generating arguments. But from Victorinus's Neoplatonist perspective, the crucial point becomes the very definition of a perfection that is abiding and absolute. Thus Cicero's definition of *habitus* as having a *virtus* takes on profound philosophical implications, allowing Victorinus to find a resonance with the discourse on wisdom at the opening of the *De inventione* and his own elaboration of this subject.[8] His account of *habitus* opens into an exposition of the permanence of the cardinal virtues:

---

[7] 'ADFECTIO EST ANIMI AUT CORPORIS EX TEMPORE ALIQUA DE CAUSA COMMMUTATIO. Habitum esse diximus siue in animo siue in corpore alicuius rei perfectionem. At contra siue in animo siue in corpore alicuius rei inchoatio adfectio est, quae subito aliqua ratione nascitur mox recessura, ut si quid nobis boni nuntietur et laeti esse incipiamus, si quid uideamus et id ipsum concupiscamus, uel aliquid timere incipiamus, si moleste ferre, istae omnes animi sunt adfectiones; deinde corporis, si subito in morbum incidamus, si aliquid in nobis debilitetur, sed ad tempus, post autem sanetur. Hae itaque erunt adfectiones corporis et reliquae eis similes'. Gaius Marius Victorinus, *Explanationes in Ciceronis Rhetoricam*, ed. by A. Ippolito, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 132 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 115.

> Let us understand how he defines *habitus*: he says 'such as a virtue', and this is a *habitus* of mind. Virtue is fourfold: justice, temperance, fortitude, and prudence. Therefore it is *habitus* if we preserve it as a welcome virtue so that never once do we shrink from its hold.[9]

In philosophical terms, *affectio* has become a way of knowing *virtus* by negation.

The most impressive extension of this argument is to be found in an anonymous treatise, *De attributis personae et negotio*, that circulated with Victorinus's *Explanationes*, copied as a kind of addendum to Victorinus's commentary. The treatise may have a claim to being as influential in its own way as Victorinus's commentary, since it survives in nearly as many copies as the *Explanationes*: of forty-two known manuscripts from the seventh or eighth century up to the fifteenth century containing Victorinus's work, only seven manuscripts are without *De attributis*.[10] The appeal of the treatise may have been its extreme brevity (barely six pages in Halm's *Rhetores latini minores*), which allows it to get to the point about the *attributa*. This point, however, is not rhetorical. While this treatise assumes the background (or pretext) of the *De inventione*, it takes the attributes out of context from their role in the *confirmatio* as sources for topical invention. Thus it does not mention how the attributes will be used rhetorically. It also redistributes the emphasis among the attributes of the person to foreground the triad of *habitus*, *affectio*, and *studium*, which occupies about half of the first section (devoted to *attributa personae*). The treatise takes its motivation from Victorinus's commentary, as an expansion of the moral and spiritual teachings there. Hence the interest is philosophical: to use the transitory quality of *affectio* to define the permanency of *habitus*, with *studium* as the intermediate term. Even the basic Stoic categories of emotion that we find in Cicero and Victorinus have receded from relevance. The new purpose is to capture a definition and exemplification of human perfectibility, echoing the themes of ascesis through the discipline of the arts with which Victorinus opens his Neoplatonist commentary on the *De inventione*.[11] In the treatise, Ciceronian *affectio* has no specific emotional significance, but has been reduced down, as if by metonymy, to the philosophical significance of emotion, namely a temporary state. In the illustration of this philosophical principle, the treatise offers as analogy the example of oratorical ability, which does not manifest itself suddenly like *affectio* but has to be nurtured and perfected to become a permanent condition, a *habitus*. Here, however, the interest is not in what makes an orator, nor in how to express or manage the emotions, but rather to recognize *habitus* as the perfected state of a virtue:

---

[8] Pierre Hadot, *Marius Victorinus: Recherches sur sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Études Augstiniennes, 1971), pp. 82–87.

[9] 'Videamus itaque habitum qualem esse dicat; "ut virtutem", inquit; hic habitus animi. Virtus autem quaduplex, iustitia, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia. Sed tunc habitus, si uirtutem ita teneamus acceptam ut numquam a semel comparata recedamus'. Victorinus, *Explanationes*, ed. by Ippolito, p. 114.

[10] See Ippolito's introduction to the edition of Victorinus: Victorinus, *Explanationes*, ed. by Ippolito, pp. xxv–xxxii; five of these seven manuscripts without *De attributis* are from the eleventh century. The copying of Victorinus's commentary declined notably in the twelfth century, probably because of the emergence of new commentaries on Cicero's text that were more popular (ibid., p. xx). But the interest in Victorinus and the *De attributis* later resumed, and from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we have many witnesses of these works.

> In fact one develops these qualities with diligence and makes them perfected, and this is called *habitus*; or we often fall into these qualities by some chance or sudden provocation [or disturbance], and this is called *affectio*; or we incline to these qualities by a certain effort, because this very *studium* as such is nothing other than the will applied to certain qualities [...]. *Affectio* is a quality occurring suddenly and forcefully that quickly dissipates; for if it remained it would be *habitus*. It is called *affectio* because by nature it 'afflicts' us.[12]

---

[11] Victorinus, *Explanationes*, ed. by Ippolito, preface, pp. 5–7 (lines 4–68), translated in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory AD 300–1475*, ed. by Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 107–08.

[12] 'verum has qualitates vel diligentia conparat facitque perfectas, et habitus nominatur; aut in has casu quodam ac repentino motu frequenter incidimus, et adfectio dicitur; aut in has inclinamur studio quodam, quod ipsum studium per se nihil aliud est quam voluntas adplicata in aliquas qualitates [...]. Adfectio est accidens qualitas vel repente vel studio mox desitura; nam si permaneat, fit habitus: dicta adfectio, quod [adficiat] qualitate'. *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Karl Halm (Leipzig: Teubner, 1863), p. 305, lines 10–14, p. 306, lines 3–5. I have checked this against the 2013 Teubner edition of Victorinus's commentary (which appeared after the present essay was completed and with the press); see C. Marius Victorinus, *Commenta in Ciceronis Rhetorica accedit incerti auctoris tractatus De attributis personae et negotio*, ed. by Thomas Riesenweber (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 213–20.

Here *affectio* has been detached from its function as a topic of invention, a generator of arguments; it has become entirely a tool of philosophical and moral analysis which is useful as a comparandum. The capability of rhetoric is invoked only by way of example of the abiding quality of what can become *habitus*: Cicero, who applied himself with care and diligence, learned rhetoric so that it was a permanent quality in him, and thus he attained the *habitus* of rhetoric.[13]

Many of the late antique Latin rhetorics (for example, Fortunatianus's *Ars rhetorica* or the rhetorics of C. Julius Victor and Sulpitius Victor) do not adhere to the *De inventione*, but rather incorporate its doctrine into synthetic and compressed handbooks. Alcuin's dialogue on rhetoric does follow the Ciceronian text to a great extent; Alcuin reiterates the *De inventione* on the attributes of the person (although not verbatim), but without reflecting the later Neoplatonic commentaries.[14]

But Thierry of Chartres's commentary on the *De inventione* does reflect the influence of Victorinus and possibly the short *De attributis personae et negotio*. Thierry's commentary invokes Victorinus's name at various points, so it is clear that he used the *Explanationes* to elucidate the meaning of the *De inventione*. It is also very possible that his copy of Victorinus's commentary included the short *De attributis*.[15] Of *affectio*, Thierry says:

> *AFFECTIO* IS, etc. We said that *habitus* is an abiding perfection in something produced from application. So *AFFECTIO* IS a sudden change IN MIND OR BODY that quickly recedes, as for example if someone announces good news to us and we start to be happy, or if someone falls into some infirmity and quickly recovers. Now given that he said that *affectio* is TEMPORARY, he understood it as for a time, not abiding.[16]

---

[13] *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Halm, p. 306, lines 28–29.

[14] *Disputatio de rhetorica et virtutibus*, in *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Halm, p. 537, lines 29–32.

[15] Among the books listed in Ippolito's conspectus of manuscripts of Victorinus's *Explanationes* is Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Carnotensis 99 (s. x–xi), destroyed by bombing in 1944, which contained *De attributis* along with Victorinus's commentary. As in other manuscripts containing both texts, the short treatise immediately follows Victorinus's commentary.

[16] 'AFFECTIO EST ETC. Diximus habitum esse perfectionem in aliqua re diuturnam ex applicatione natam, AFFECTIO vero ANIMI EST AUT CORPORIS subita mutatio cito recedens, ut si quid boni nobis nuntietur et laeti esse incipiamus, vel si quis in aliquam infirmitatem incidat et cito sanetur. Nam per hoc quod dixit affectionem esse EX TEMPORE, intellixit eam ad tempus non diuturnam'. Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of*

The second half of this statement derives most obviously from Victorinus, who glosses Cicero's text with the same example of someone who brings us good news and makes us suddenly glad. But the first part of the statement, 'we said that *habitus* is an abiding perfection in something produced from application', is closer to the spirit of the treatise *De attributis*, with its particular emphasis on differentiating the absolute from the contingent, the permanent from the transitory. This epistemology is very much in keeping with Thierry's concerns, elsewhere in his work and in this commentary, with seeking and grasping a perfected state of understanding and knowledge: for example, his definition of wisdom as a 'perfected knowledge' ('integra cognitio') which applies either to speculative or moral science, or as comprehension of the truth 'of immutables' ('immutabilium').[17]

The rhetorical tradition of the *De inventione* comes to supply a philosophical discourse about permanence and contingency. This arises from the overtly philosophical language of the *De inventione* itself. The role of emotion as a source of rhetorical reasoning seems to recede as the tradition of commentary develops. The commentators' interest in *affectio* as part of the moral-philosophical triad *habitus-affectio-studium* overtakes the topical system of *attributa personae* in which those terms first appeared.

The Pragmatics of Emotion: Amplification in Cicero, Martianus Capella, and Julius Severianus

At *De inventione* 1. 53. 100–56. 109, Cicero presents a set of rules for the peroration.[18] The peroration has three parts: *enumeratio*, or summing up; *indignatio*, where the speaker incites indignation in the audience about the crime; and *conquestio*, which arouses sympathy for the plaintiff's woes or even for the collateral suffering of the speaker who is arguing the case.[19] Indignation and

---

Chartres, ed. by Karin Margareta Fredborg (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), p. 134, lines 5–11.

[17] Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 59, lines 4–5; *Commentum super Boethii librum de Trinitate*, II. 2, in Thierry of Chartres, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, ed. by Nikolaus Häring (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), p. 68.

[18] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 2. 48 presents similar teaching on the peroration, under the heading of *amplificatio*, although without quite the detail of *De inventione*.

[19] On the emotions of indignation and sympathy as treated in medieval glosses on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, see in this volume Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Performing Dido'. Woods

sympathy are generated from topics (*loci*), although it is clear (if not stated) that the emotions themselves are not topics. In *De inventione*, as in the corresponding instruction in *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the emotions are only the products of topical reasoning. Thus Cicero points out that all the attributes of the person and the act that were given as topics for the *confirmatio* or proof can serve as commonplaces for amplification in the peroration (*De inventione* 1. 53. 100). But there are also particular topics from which the speaker can derive the *indignatio*, fifteen in all, which Cicero lists. These include the following: arguments from authority, invoking human or divine law; arguments from persons (i.e. who has been affected by the wrongdoing); arguments from consequence (i.e. pointing out that if this wrongdoer gets away with it, everyone will think they can); arguments from manner (i.e. how cruelly or nefariously the deed was committed); and arguments from difference and similarity (i.e. this deed compared with other crimes). He then turns to the *conquestio*, the arousing of sympathy, for which he lists sixteen commonplaces. For the most part, Cicero does not label these commonplaces (that is, as arguments from consequence, manner, similarity and difference, and so forth), probably assuming that his readers will already understand that these derive from a basic system of topics. These are technical precepts for amplification with the topics understood as sources. Such amplification, designed to win belief for the preceding arguments, belongs most properly in the peroration, not in other divisions of the speech (1. 51. 97; cf. *De partitione oratoria* 15. 52).

Later in his career as a rhetorical theorist, Cicero addressed the emotions to rather different effect than what we find in *De inventione*. In the mature *De oratore* (55 BCE), Cicero gives expansive advice about the emotions (2. 44. 185–53. 214). Cicero has Antonius reflect, both pragmatically and ethically, on the orator's power to move men's souls and the conviction with which he inspires his audience to feel as he seems to feel. In describing his own courtroom practice, Antonius exemplifies how an orator might put a certain phenomenological knowledge of emotions to work in a speech. Here there is a marked investment of the speaker himself in the emotion he seeks to rouse: in order to inspire emotion in the judge, the speaker must also be stirred by great feeling and must be able to convey his own passion (2. 45. 189–90). Here the speaker is implicated in the same emotional effect that he is producing. Such

considers how a fifteenth-century glossator on the classical text uses examples of Dido's speeches in the *Aeneid* to illustrate the 'performance' of indignation and pity as part of the teaching on delivery or *pronuntiatio*. The fifteenth-century glossator links the advice about conveying emotion to a powerful literary example.

passionate demonstrations are reserved for the *peroratio*, where they are most appropriate. The advice in *De oratore* is reprised and considerably elaborated in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* 6. 2. Indeed, Quintilian extends this doctrine to the point where he advises the speaker to conjure for himself a *phantasia* or vivid image of the crime so that he will feel the shock himself.[20]

Neither *De oratore* nor *Institutio oratoria* had much medieval traction, and so the intimate tone and expansive detail of their discourses on the emotions did not pass into the Middle Ages. But something of the ethical character of Cicero's advice in the *De oratore* — and by extension, Quintilian's teaching — remains in two late antique sources: the chapter on rhetoric in Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, and the section devoted to the *affectiones* in the *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* by Julius Severianus (*c.* 460 CE), a contemporary of Martianus Capella. Both Martianus and Severianus make ample use of Ciceronian speeches, especially the Verrines, to illustrate how Cicero himself would have drawn the appropriate emotion out of a commonplace to sway a judge or audience. In other words, both enlarge the technical treatment of topics in the *De inventione* to include literary examples that students might imitate.

Martianus's treatment of the emotions occupies only several paragraphs (§§503–05) in the long chapter on rhetoric. While Martianus seems to indicate that, like the ancients, he would reserve emotional discourse for the peroration (§503),[21] he also regards generating emotions as a subject to be treated separately from his outline of the divisions of the speech which he promises for later in his treatise (§§544–65). Thus at §§504–05 he offers 'in general terms' an account 'quibus mentes affectibus incitentur', 'by what emotional appeals minds are aroused'.[22] Martianus's treatment is less mechanically technical than Cicero's in the *De inventione*. He lists and then illustrates pity, hatred, envy, fear, hope, and anger, adding that 'similes alii permiscentur affectus' (§505), 'other like emotions are mixed in [to the speech]'.[23] Each of the six emotions listed is associated with its source in a commonplace, for example, audiences are moved by pity 'cum calamitates alicuius magno dolore tractamus, cum iniquitatem temporis vel periculi magnitudinem memoramus' (§504), 'when we treat someone's misfortune with great sorrow, when we recall the iniquity of the times or the magnitude of the danger'.[24] For each emotion and the topical device that generates it, there are one or two passages quoted from Cicero.

---

[20] On these sections of *De oratore* and *Institutio oratoria*, see the valuable study by Matthew Leigh, 'Quintilian on the Emotions (*Institutio oratoria* 6 Preface and 1–2)', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 94 (2004), 122–40.

[21] Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. by James Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983), p. 173, lines 9–12.

[22] Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. by Willis, p. 173, lines 11–12.

[23] Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. by Willis, p. 174, line 14.

The most important theoretical point that Martianus makes comes at the end of the discussion: emotions so aroused, even though persuasive, are extrinsic to the case (§505).[25] Here he makes more explicit what was only understood in Cicero's treatment: as functions of amplification, the emotions of the audience are not intrinsic to the matter being argued. Unlike the attributes of the person and the act, which are what Cicero had called 'quadam silva materia omnium argumentationum' (*De inventione* 1. 24. 34), 'some natural foliage material of all argumentation', which would include the personal attribute of *affectio*, the *affectiones* incited in the audience are secondary to argumentation. In the latter case, emotion is not an inventional topic that generates argument, but rather a persuasive effect produced by topical devices.

As is well known, the whole of Martianus's *De nuptiis* received extensive commentary among Carolingian scholars, notably John Scotus Eriugena and Remigius of Auxerre; but neither commentator gives particular attention to the section on *affectiones* in Book 5, so it is difficult to see how the doctrine there was registered in their teaching.[26] To measure something of the impact of Martianus's main theoretical point, we have to await the expansion of Ciceronianism in the twelfth century, in the teaching of Thierry of Chartres, and the incorporation of Martianus's *De nuptiis* and the *Praecepta* of Severianus into this larger Ciceronian perspective.

Julius Severianus's *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* did not have a vast medieval circulation. Up to and including the twelfth century, it is found in only nine copies. But some of these contained important collections of classical and late antique rhetorical works (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7231, s. xi; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7696, s. xi; Munich, Stadtbibliothek, MS Clm 14436, s. x–xii); another, Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Carnotensis 497 (s. xii, now destroyed), was the first volume of Thierry of Chartres's omnibus *artes* collection, the *Heptateuchon*.[27] Thus although not copied frequently, it was accorded prestige among authoritative classical witnesses to the art of rhetoric.[28] Severianus's *Praecepta* compresses essential elements of rhetorical theory based upon a range of classical sources, streamlining the art for practical access; it also peppers its teaching with illustrative quotations from Cicero's orations and rhetorical treatises. Among Severianus's virtues is his ability to clarify the theoretical pressure point of a doctrine, to explain what lies behind a precept.

---

[24] Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. by Willis, p. 173, lines 14–16.

[25] 'extra causam tament sunt'. Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. by Willis, p. 174, line 15.

[26] Iohannis Scotti, *Annotationes in Martianum*, ed. by Cora Lutz (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1939), p. 124; Remigius of Auxerre, *Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. by Cora Lutz, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1962–65), II, 96–97.

The penultimate section of the treatise, traditionally marked off in manuscripts with the title *De adfectibus*, presents — unusually within the handbook tradition — a treatise within a treatise. It covers the topics for generating emotion, the appropriate placement of emotional appeals within the oration, and stylistic techniques that draw emotion from an audience. The section begins with advice about why emotional appeals should be used sparingly in the body of the oration, because when they appear outside of the peroration they carry a great weight. They can be implicit in the *narratio* without breaking the formal character of that *pars orationis*, to be deployed explicitly later (§17).[29] In other words, the delaying of emotional appeal builds a kind of suspense even as the speaker is describing a vicious crime. There is a clear distinction between the body of argumentation and the emotional effect: the argument is better if it has moral force, but perorations are better if they incite emotions. Of course, this is not a hard and fast rule: Cicero insinuates emotions throughout his speeches (§18).[30] He gives a Ciceronian illustration for each of six emotions: anger, hatred, pity, spite, fear, and hope (§§19–20).[31] The implication (by generous illustration) is that Cicero is a master at this kind of suggestive exposition.

---

[27] The information about manuscripts is taken from the conspectus in Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. by Remo Giomini (Rome: Herder, 1992), p. 47. Giomini also lists six fifteenth-century copies and two early sixteenth-century manuscripts.

[28] Bestul, 'The *Saturnalia* of Macrobius' considers the possible rhetorical and literary influence of Severianus's *Praecepta*, especially its treatment of the emotions, in the later Middle Ages.

[29] Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. by Giomini, p. 84, lines 1–6. The text of Severianus has also been edited, with an Italian translation, by Anna Luisa Castelli Montanari, Edizioni e saggi universitari di filologia classica, 53 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1995). I have mainly relied on Giomini's edition, but I have also found Montanari's edition very useful.

[30] Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. by Giomini, p. 87, lines 7–10.

[31] Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. by Giomini, pp. 88, line 1 – 92, line 3.

Having illustrated each emotion, Severianus now inverts the lesson, turning to the *communes loci* themselves to show how topical reasoning generates emotions. Here he consolidates a wide range of teaching on the *communes loci*,[32] leaving behind Cicero's fussy precepts about sources particular to the *indignatio* and the *conquestio*. The topics of argumentation themselves rise to the surface:

> Emotion is drawn from the following: from act, person, cause, place, time, signs, faculties, from the whole to the parts, from the parts to the whole, from the contrary, from smaller to greater, from greater to smaller, from the similar, and from foreign people, beasts, and inanimate things. Don't worry that I have repeated here topics considered above [i.e. at §13]. For in fact once you have proved the crime, all of the circumstances that provided arguments for convicting the defendant also serve to stir the emotions.[33]

In the exposition that follows, Severianus pairs each of the circumstances listed with an appropriate passage from one of Cicero's speeches to illustrate how Cicero would have derived his emotional appeals from topical reasoning. The illustrations may be emotional, but the teaching is about the flexibility of the *communes loci*, that they can serve multiple functions as generators of discourse.

We find the most distinctive impact of these late antique topical treatments of the emotions once again in the work of Thierry of Chartres. That Thierry would have known Martianus Capella's chapter on rhetoric is small surprise, since the *De nuptiis* was a staple of monastic commentary from the Carolingian era and a favourite of twelfth-century masters in Thierry's own milieu. It is more interesting that he chose both Martianus's chapter on rhetoric and Severianus's *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* as the only late antique compendia for the rhetoric section of his *Heptateuchon* (*c*. 1140). The *Heptateuchon* was a massive (two-volume) collection of primary texts representing all of the liberal arts.[34] It was contained in Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS Carnotensis 497 and 498, which were among the wealth of medieval manuscripts at Chartres destroyed by bombing in 1944. Fortunately, these codices were microfilmed before the war so that their contents are not lost to us. In the Prologue to the *Heptateuchon*, Thierry insists that he will include, not the writings of modern commentators, but only 'precipuorum super his artibus inventa doctorum' ('the discoveries of the most important authorities on the arts').[35]

---

[32] For a list of sources and analogues for Severianus's treatment of the commonplaces, see Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. by Giomini, p. 92 note.

[33] 'ex his trahitur: a re, a persona, a causa, a loco, a tempore, a signis, a facultatibus, a toto ad partes, a partibus ad totum, a contrario, a minori ad maius, a maiori ad minus, a simili, et a barbaris gentibus et a bestiis et inanimalibus: ducitur et de ceteris locis, unde et argumenta sumuntur. Nec te moveat, quod hinc et argumenta duci supra rettulerim; si quidem illa [ex] omni circumstantia, unde ad convincendum reum argumenta sumuntur, inde etiam, postquam crimen probaveris, adfectus commoventur'. Julius Severianus, *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*, ed. by Giomini, §21, pp. 92, line 4 – 93, line 3; §13 is at pp. 73–74.

[34] On the composition of the *Heptateuchon* and for further references, see *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, pp. 439–43.

In the section on rhetoric, Thierry includes the complete *De inventione*, the complete *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De partitione oratoria*, Martianus's chapter on rhetoric from the *De nuptiis*, and Severianus's *Praecepta*. Why did these two late antique compendia rise so much to the top of Thierry's esteem that he included them? Why did they carry enough authority to be copied along with the fundamental Ciceronian texts? Of course, part of the answer may lie in convenience or opportunity: these texts are short (although length does not elsewhere seem to have been an issue, as he includes the whole of Priscian's *Institutes*) and perhaps they were works that were readily to hand or that he knew.[36] But he may also have thought that they gave a complete account of rhetoric from a distinctively pragmatic perspective.[37] There is no conclusive reason why the rhetorical treatises of Martianus and Severianus were included among 'the discoveries of the most important authorities on the arts'.

But we are on surer ground when we consider what Thierry derived from Martianus and especially from Severianus. The evidence is in his commentary on *De inventione* 1. 53. 100–56. 109, on *indignatio* and *conquestio* as sections of the peroration. Thierry's commentary emerges looking very little like Cicero's text. Where Cicero was interested in detailing the amplifications themselves, Thierry is interested in something more basic, reinforcing the teaching on the *communes loci*. Thus at 1. 53. 100 he drives home the topical instruction:

> IN CONSIDERING THIS TOPIC, etc. He says that any of the attributes of the person or the act, which have been discussed, can be used to move audiences to greater feelings of indignation. NEVERTHELESS WE SHOULD CONSIDER, etc. While enough

---

[35] Edited in Édouard Jeauneau, 'Note sur l'École de Chartres', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 5 (1964), 821–65 (p. 854).

[36] That he does not include Victorinus's *Explanationes* and the small treatise *De attributis* might be explained by the fact that he had already used these — and thus superseded them? — in his own commentary on *De inventione*.

[37] Rita Copeland, 'Thierry of Chartres and the Causes of Rhetoric: From the *Heptateuchon* to Teaching the *ars rhetorica*', in *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom*, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 81–102.

> has been said about the attributes of the person and of the act, I will still point out a number of the commonplaces which are proper to *indignatio*. You should know that each one of these commonplaces is drawn from a certain attribute, as we will note below. Note, moreover, that [Cicero] does not form commonplaces here, but rather treats a number of them and the matter out of which they are made.[38]

Emotions should not be confused with commonplaces, warns Thierry. This is the main theoretical point of Martianus's passage on persuasion through emotions (the emotions of the audience are extrinsic to the case), and the fundamental lesson of Severianus, who lists each topic and then pairs it with an illustrative quotation from Cicero's speeches to show the *locus* of reasoning from which Cicero derived a particular emotional appeal (attributes of the person and the act, the greater to the smaller, etc.).

Thierry takes this lesson one step further. His glosses on *indignatio* and *conquestio* have little of the situational examples that Cicero gives and none of the illustrative content that Martianus and Severianus provide in quoting from Cicero's orations. Instead, the passages in the *De inventione* on the *indignatio* and the *conquestio* become a pedagogical opportunity, an exercise in recognizing and naming *communes loci*:

> FIRST COMMONPLACE, etc. This commonplace is FROM AUTHORITY, as he says. He said that the weightiest authority is that which most excites emotion. [...] SECOND COMMONPLACE etc. This commonplace is similarly from authority, but [consists of the authority] of all people [...]. THIRD COMMONPLACE is from consequence. FOURTH is from the authority of judges or, as some would put it, from similarity. FIFTH is from difference. SIXTH is from the manner of the deed's carrying out. SEVENTH is from the means used. [...] EIGHTH is a multiple commonplace, not only from the person's nature but also from his associations and also from his fortune. NINTH is a commonplace from contrasting great with small. TENTH is from what is auxiliary to the action. ELEVENTH is arguing from the great to the small. [...] TWELFTH is arguing from occurrence. THIRTEENTH is from the

---

[38] 'IN HOC GENERE, etc. Dicit quod ex quibuslibet attributis sive personae sive negotio, de quibus dictum est, possunt auditores commoveri ad amplas indignationes. SED TAMEN, etc. Quamvis de attributis personae aut negotio satis dictum sit, tamen numerum locorum communium, qui indignationis proprii sunt, ostendam. Sciendum vero est quod unusquisque istorum locorum communium ex aliquo attributo sumitur, ut subnotabimus. Notandum etiam quod non format hic communes locos, sed tantummodo numerum eorum tradit et materiam unde fiant'. Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, p. 170, lines 33–40.

> deed or word of a person. FOURTEENTH is from the similar. FIFTEENTH is arguing from the lesser to the greater.[39]

Severianus's *Praecepta* offers a close model for inverting Cicero's teaching on the emotions in the peroration, naming the topic from which Cicero's amplifications derive. We might assume that Thierry knew Severianus's treatise while he was producing the *De inventione* commentary. He was working on the commentary sometime during the 1130s, and it was at the end of the same decade (about 1140) that the *Heptateuchon*, in which he included Severianus, came to fruition. Without doubt, he was already familiar with Martianus Capella's chapter on rhetoric. But whether he knew both authors at the time of his commentary or only Martianus, what is remarkable about Thierry's exposition is that he has no interest in the ethical dimension of literary exemplification, which he would have found in either source on emotional appeal. The possibilities of emotional expression drawn from Cicero's orations, to which either of these sources could have directed him, seem to have no role in his expository or pedagogical outlook.

In its reception at least into the twelfth century with Thierry's expanded programme of the arts, Ciceronian rhetorical thought on *affectio* seems to present less interest in the emotions as such and much more interest in the discourses that frame discussions of the emotions: an interest in *affectio* as a foil for the moral-philosophical attributes of *habitus* and *studium*; and, as revealed in Thierry's lesson on the peroration, an opportunity to reinforce fundamental dialectical lessons in distinguishing intrinsic from extrinsic arguments, and the system of topics from the effects such reasoning produces.[40] But this preliminary conclusion should not be taken to imply that medieval rhetoric had no interest in the emotions. On the contrary, medieval thought about emotional amplification and impact developed on its own remarkable course. Martin Camargo has demonstrated this in his elegant study of the cues for emotional delivery in medieval rhetorics of composition. Especially in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, techniques of amplification are keyed to producing powerful emotional effects which are as relevant to hearing in oral delivery as to reading silently on the page.[41] But as these new pragmatic developments show, what the classical and late antique Ciceronian tradition had to offer on the subject of emotions would have to be remade in entirely medieval terms.

---

[39] 'PRIMUS LOCUS, etc. Iste locus est AB AUCTORITATE, ut ipse ait. Auctoritatem vero dixit gravissimam quae maximae commovet [...]. SECUNDUS, etc. Iste locus similiter est ab auctoritate sed omnium [...]. TERTIUS est ab eventu. QUARTUS vero ab auctoritate iudicum, vel, sicut quibusdam videtur, a simili. QUINTUS est a disparatis. SEXTUS est a modo facti. SEPTIMUS a facultate [...]. OCTAVUS locus multiplex est, tum a natura, tum a convictu, tum etiam a fortuna. NONUS locus est a comparatione maioris ad minus. DECIMUS ab administratione negotii. UNDECIMUS est a maiori ad minus [...]. DUODECIMUS a casu. TERTIUS DECIMUS a facto vel dicto personae. QUARTUS DECIMUS a simili. QUINTUS DECIMUS a minori ad maius'. Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 170, line 41 – 171, line 63.

[40] On the largely theoretical orientation of the twelfth-century commentators on ancient rhetoric, especially Thierry's predecessor William of Champeaux, see in this volume John O. Ward, 'Master William of Champeaux and Some Other Early Commentators on the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'. To some degree, as I have suggested, this theoretical reception of rhetoric was a product of the philosophical emphasis of the late antique commentary tradition on the *De inventione*.

---

[41] Martin Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act', *New Medieval Literatures*, 9 (2007), 41–62.

Master William of Champeaux and Some Other Early Commentators on the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*

John O. Ward

The pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* became the major source for classical rhetorical theory in the Middle Ages,[1] from the time of the Carolingian Renaissance (when a Tironian note commentary on it was written) onwards,[2] with *catena* or keynote commentaries beginning to appear on the text from the eleventh century.[3] Not favoured with an antique

---

[1] [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954). Henceforth 'Caplan'.

[2] Saint Petersburg, Publichnaia Biblioteka im. M.E.Saltykova Schedrina, MS Cl.Lat. F.v.N 8 ix–x, containing the *Ad Herennium* with a minor gloss, partly in Tironian notes, extracts from Victorinus's commentary on the *De inventione*, and the *De inventione* with slight glossing.

[3] On *catena* commentaries, see below, note 5. One should also bear in mind that the commentators were not the only scholars to display interest in the *Ad Herennium*. Filippo Bognini speaks of the 'vasto patrimonio tramandato dal quarto libro della *Rhetorica [ad*

John O. Ward holds a PhD from the University of Toronto (1972) and has taught at the Universities of Melbourne and Toronto (1962–66) and the University of Sydney (1967–2003). He has received many awards, including the Commonwealth Government Scholarship and the Province of Ontario Scholarship, as well as research grants and fellowships at universities and institutions in Australia, the United States, and Europe. Currently retired from the Department of History, University of Sydney, he is an Honorary Reader with the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, University of Sydney. His publications are quite numerous. His many interests include medieval rhetoric and intellectual history, urban history, historiography, heresy and the inquisition, and witchcraft.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 21–44 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107447

commentary like the *De inventione* of Cicero, which benefitted from the fourth-century commentary by Victorinus,[4] the teacher of Augustine, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* required a medieval commentary to make it useable. From the twelfth century onwards, numerous such commentaries were written,[5] initially as secondary works, alongside major commentaries on the *De inventione*, but from the time of 'Magister Alanus' (of Lille?) and beyond, as the major source of classical rhetorical theory.[6] What did these early commentators make of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and how did they teach it? Was their scholarship on the *Ad Herennium* 'practical, pragmatic and utilitarian', 'theoretical and scholarly', or 'antiquarian'? Was it useful to life, life in the schools, or not in either sphere? Why *were* these authors interested in a difficult text that we now know as an anonymous text and one written some twelve centuries before the teaching activity of the authors we are interested in here? What may we learn today, in our fast-moving, digitalized intellectual society, from the slow, methodical, medieval uses of a text as ancient (to them and to us) as the *Rhetorica ad*

Herennium]' to be found in Alberic of Monte Cassino's work: Filippo Bognini, 'La *Rhetorica ad Herennium* nel *Breviarium* di Alberico di Monte Cassino', in *Nova vestigia antiquitatis*, ed. by Giuseppe Zanetto, Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, and Massimiliano Ornaghi (Milano: Cisalpino, 2008), pp. 3–26. See also below, at note 37, on Rupert of Deutz.

[4] Most easily accessible in *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Karl Halm (Leipzig: Teubner, 1863). A definitive re-edition has now appeared from the hand of Thomas Riesenweber: C. Marius Victorinus, *Commenta in Ciceronis Rhetorica accedit incerti auctoris tractatus De attributis personae et negotio*, ed. by Thomas Riesenweber (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

[5] See John O. Ward, 'The *Catena* Commentaries on the Rhetoric of Cicero and their Implications for Development of a Teaching Tradition in Rhetoric', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching*, 6.2 (1998), 79–95; John O. Ward, 'From Marginal Gloss to *catena* Commentary: The Eleventh-Century Origins of a Rhetorical Teaching Tradition in the Medieval West', *Parergon*, 13.2 (1996), 109–20; John O. Ward, 'The Commentator's Rhetoric: From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 25–67; *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 70–75 (but note the following corrections to this volume: p. 71, no. VII, Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgh. lat. 57, fols 56^r–93^v, and Bruges, Bibliothèque del la Villa, Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 553, fols 1^{r}a–39^{r}a).

[6] See John O. Ward, 'Alan (of Lille?) as Rhetor: Unity from Diversity?', in *Papers on Rhetoric V: Atti del Convegno Internazionale 'Dictamen, poetria and Cicero: Coherence and Diversification', Bologna, 10–11 Maggio 2002*, ed. by Lucia Calboli Montefusco (Roma: Herder, 2003), pp. 141–227; John O. Ward, 'Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution of the Middle Ages', *Rhetorica*, 13 (1995), 231–84.

Herennium? How much of a real contribution to medieval, Renaissance, or contemporary communication situations and needs might a study of a classical text like the *Ad Herennium*, covering the whole range of classical rhetorical theory, make to persuasive practice in the various periods?

Not all of these questions can be answered in what follows, but the reader should keep them in mind as we look briefly in the pages below at some of the glossators and at some of their doctrines, concluding with a few remarks on the somewhat neglected art of *pronuntiatio*, or 'delivery', as this is a current interest of Martin Camargo and an emerging important aspect of medieval persuasive theory and practice.[7] I would like to take this opportunity of declaring my great indebtedness to Martin, over many years, not only for his profound knowledge of the afterlife of classical rhetorical theory, but also for the immense generosity with which he shares his abundant knowledge. As a true friend, a great scholar, and a prolific and punctual sharer of his knowledge, he is without peer.

I begin with a little about the very curious history of the *Ad Herennium* in antiquity, for it is rare that such a subsequently popular text should have had so obscure and fragile a beginning. As its most popular editor and translator, Harry Caplan, remarks, 'the treatise addressed to Gaius Herennius [is] the oldest Latin Art [of rhetoric] preserved entire'.[8] Although Hellenistic in basis, the author makes a deliberate attempt to give a Latin colour to his terms and his exposition. Although he was writing as late as *c.* 86–82 BC (his text is thus a near contemporary of Cicero's *De inventione*, which Caplan assigns to *c.* 91 BC),[9] the author is unknown and does not appear to have been known to the omniscient Quintilian, suggesting that it was 'lost' (or 'enfoui peut-être dans les coffres de la famille Herennia'!),[10] and never reached general publicity and use by Quintilian's time.[11] The 're-appearance' of the work by *c.* 400 AD has been well documented by Achard.[12] For Jerome, the work is well known and written by Cicero: 'lege ad Herennium Tullii libros'. He refers, about the years 402–03 AD, to the celebrated passage in the *De oratore*:

---

[7] Martin Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act', *New Medieval Literatures*, 9 (2007), 41–62; Martin Camargo, 'Special Delivery: Were Medieval Letter Writers Trained in Performance?', in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 173–89; see also Martin Camargo, 'Epistolary Declamation: Performing Model Letters in Medieval English Classrooms', in *Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing*, ed. by Linda C. Mitchell and Susan Green (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 2008).

[8] Caplan, p. vii. For information on 'the treatise addressed to Gaius Herennius', see [Cornifici], *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium, introduzione, testo critico, commento*, ed. by Gualtiero Calboli (Bologna: Pàtron, 1969), p. 11; and [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Guy Achard (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1989), App. 2, pp. 235–36.

[9] See also [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Achard, pp. vii–xiii.

[10] [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Achard, p. xxxiii.

> Your Cicero (he writes) says that certain inchoate and rough works got into the public when he was but a youth. If he could say this in regard as much to the books to Herennius as to the rhetorics which I think most perfect, in comparison with works marked by the skills of old age, then how much more will I be able to freely profess that what I wrote earlier was a work of puerile talent whereas what I am writing now is a work of mature old age.

Here he is referring to his youthful allegorical remarks *In Abdiam Prophetam* in comparison with what he was writing much later in his life.[13]

We take up the story now with the surviving medieval manuscripts of the *Ad Herennium*, over six hundred of them.[14] All groups of manuscripts go back to the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries AD, but 'A subscription present in one of [the ninth-century apographa (exact copies, transcripts) of the M or, as it was once called, 'mutili' family of manuscripts] suggests that the hyparchetype itself dates back to the last decade of the fourth century within the intellectual circle around Augustine'.[15] Using quotations from the *Ad Herennium* found in the *De compositione et de metris oratorum* by the fifth-century Rufinus, and in the *Institutiones grammaticae* of the sixth-century author Priscian, Taylor-Briggs shows that glosses seem to have been added to at least seven late fourth-century copies of the *Ad Herennium* and these glosses have been incorporated into the texts of the *Ad Herennium* preserved in later (medieval) manuscripts. At least one of these 'glosses' or interpolations indicates that contemporary users thought the text was by Cicero.[16] Taylor-Briggs supposes that the 'revival' of the *Ad Herennium* was part of 'a pagan cultural revival associated with members of the Nichomachus and Symmachus families, who initiated the correction of classical texts in response to poor standards of manuscript transmission'.[17] The evidence which shows that the *Ad Herennium* was known within the circle of Augustine during this period, says Taylor-Briggs, suggests that it was familiar to and possibly used by those teaching rhetoric.

---

[11] I follow in these details Caplan's introduction, and readers are urged to refer to that in regard to the assertion that the author was, in fact, 'Cornificius'. Calboli seems the most prone to the authorship of Cornificius among the modern editors I have cited (see Tommaso Masiello, 'Ideologica e diritto nel *De inventione* e nella *Rhetorica ad Herennium*', in *Parti e Giudici nel Processo dai Diritti Antichi all Attualità*, ed. by Cosimo Cascione, Emilio Germino, and Carla Masi Doria (Napoli: Satura, 2006), pp. 75–95 (p. 77). Masiello claims that both the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium* are based on a common model of Hermagorean rhetoric, complicated by a Rhodian atmosphere with Aristoteleian and Asian/Hellenistic elements, translated into Latin, with other influences not now determinable. The differences between the two treatises are the different systematization of the doctrine of *status/constitutiones*, and conscious choices made by the two authors, perhaps referable to an oral, Latin tradition of rhetorical teaching (p. 77). Achard expresses the same doubts about authorship as Caplan. Achard ([Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Achard, p. xiii) puts forward the interesting view that the author commenced writing in 84 BC but stopped in 83 and could not 'publish' his work because of Sulla's invasion of Italy, on which see Max Cary, *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine* (London: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 336–38. Indeed, in view of his political sympathies, the author might well have been cut down or at least sidelined in the massive and ruthless proscriptions of Sulla. See Cary, *A History of Rome*, pp. 338–39, and [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Achard, pp. xxviii–xxxiii.

[12] [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Achard, pp. xiv and xxxiv. Achard somehow has turned Migne's 'senilis peritiae' into 'similis prudentiae', which is not what Migne has at the point cited as his authority by Achard.

[13] See *De oratore*, I.2

[14] Ruth Taylor-Briggs, 'Reading between the Lines: The Textual History and Manuscript Transmission of Cicero's Rhetorical Works', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 77–108. Some 610 manuscripts with a complete or nearly complete text of the *Ad Herennium* to the end of the fifteenth century have survived, with a further 128 manuscripts

This brings us to the Middle Ages proper, when rhetoric remained alive because of the continued occurrence of communication situations that could benefit from a specific training in the liberal arts. The lifespan of William of Champeaux is important here. As Lobrichon says:

---

containing excerpts from this text, making a total survival down to the fifteenth century of around 738 manuscripts. The source for this information is the as-yet-unpublished inventory compiled by J. O. Ward of manuscripts inspected prior to compilation of articles on the *Ad Herennium* and *De inventione* for the series *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum Medii Aevi*, ed. by P. O. Kristeller, F. E. Cranz, V. Brown and G. Dinkova-Brun. This survey involved some 249 libraries and 1228 manuscripts. Previous scholarship on the *juvenilia* in the Middle Ages includes D. E. Grosser, 'Studies in the Influence of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1953); Mary Dickey, 'The Study of Rhetoric in the First Half of the Twelfth Century with Special Reference to the Cathedral Schools of Northern France' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1953); Mary Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1968), 1–41, which was an attempt by Beryl Smalley to publish at least part of Dickey's thesis, but not without errors; Fredborg (many papers): see bibliography in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward; and Ward (many papers): see bibliography in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward.

[15] Taylor-Briggs, 'Reading between the Lines', p. 78.

[16] Taylor-Briggs, 'Reading between the Lines', pp. 94–96.

[17] Taylor-Briggs, 'Reading between the Lines', pp. 94–95.

> Entre tous les siècles qui composent le Moyen Âge, le XII^e^ siècle apparaît aux historiens comme celui qui donne véritablement sinon naissance, du moins des chances nouvelles à l'individu.[18]

In examining the early *catena* commentaries on the *Ad Herennium*, however, we must remember some of the ambient circumstances surrounding learning in the period. The separation between the disciplines was less arbitrary than it is today, when there is no 'compulsory general introductory curriculum', such as the seven liberal arts, or the arts of the trivium to govern an individual's learning processes. Education was indeed more unitary and less specialized and separated than it is today. Law, theology, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic were all part of the same project: assuring clear knowledge of the Church and its disciplines and doctrines, so as to ensure orthodoxy and salvation for all. The 'practical' and the 'theoretical' were united, and rhetoric served law, dialectic, 'effective communication', prose and poetic composition and style (some of which was taught under 'grammar').[19] Any accessible didactic text would help in this programme. There was, therefore, considerable devotion in our period to the key didactic classics of the past, because they were already there, in a language open to all scholars, and written with great authority and experience. Considerable adaptation of particularly the older texts was considered necessary to enable contemporary students to come to grips with them and to learn from them, and this adaptation took place by way of paraphrase, expansion, elaboration, addition, selection, illustration, or else ignoring — letting the text speak for itself. We have to remember that if a passage was not glossed, it did not mean it was not understood or was thought irrelevant; it meant that the text was evident and required no further addition, illustration, or explanation. The student was expected to make good sense of the text as it was, and the lecturer only added points that seemed useful or might expand the student's horizons. The *reportationes*[20] were no doubt intended as brief reminders of the most important of these comments, not as any kind of direct transcription of what the lecturer said. A scholar such as Thierry of Chartres seems to have made sure that his lectures circulated exactly as he wanted them to, but most commentators enjoyed no such luxury.

---

[18] Guy Lobrichon, *Héloise: L'amour et le savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 7.

[19] See now the excellent collection of sources in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory AD 300–1475*, ed. by Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), interestingly reviewed by Barbara Newman, 'Review of *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter', *London Review of Books*, 22 March 2012, 23–24.

[20] 'Versions' of a master's lectures made by a student, sometimes with the approval of the master.

When the leading intellectuals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries encountered rhetoric as a fixed curriculum element, they had to *neutralize* it, much as Aristotle had done, by playing *down* the dynamic elements (style, metaphor, oral delivery and gesture, memory) and playing *up* the systematic, technical elements, mainly dialectic and judicial *status*-theory. In this reading, rhetoric was conceived of in William of Champeaux's day as a primarily theoretical art. Teachers made use here of the celebrated Victorine distinction between the *rhetor*, the *orator*, and the *sophista*,[21] whereby the *rhetor* handed down the precepts of the *techne* or theoretical art of rhetoric, and the *orator* put them into practice. Thus, contemporaries thought that Cicero, in the *De inventione*, was an *orator* as far as 1.5.6, and thereafter was a *rhetor*. The gloss found in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS C.IV.29 observes that to teach is to speak openly about the art (*aperte de arte*), as the *rhetor* does, or as Boethius does when he speaks openly about various types of syllogism,[22] but when the dialectician is in argument against an adversary, or where the orator is in a court in action, it is a matter of speaking 'ex arte, iam abscondite vel velate', 'as a result of having learned the art, with the art now hidden, or veiled'. The art itself is therefore less evident in the hands of the practitioner than it is in the hands of the theoretician. Indeed, says the author of the Durham MS C.IV.29 gloss, the theoretician may not even know how to execute the art in practice.[23]

Commentators in William's day also sought to neutralize rhetoric by equating it with other language arts, under the heading of logic, *disertiva pars philosophiae*,[24] other parts being *speculativa*, including physics and ethics (*activa*).[25] The *disertiva* part of philosophy included correct speech (grammar), dialectic (the science of argumentative reasoning), and persuasive use of *voces* in an acute and embellished way (rhetoric).

---

[21] *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Halm, p. 156.

[22] See Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, ed. and trans. by Eleonore Stump (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978).

[23] Durham MS C.IV.29, fols 196^{r}a, 196^{v}a, 211^{v}a.

[24] *Disertiva* is a medieval adaptation from the classical *disertus* (from *dissero*) 'skilful in speaking, eloquent'.

[25] William of Champeaux adopts this terminology, too, in his *De inventione* commentary. Logic, he says, is 'sermocinalis' (grammar) and 'disertiva' (dialectic and rhetoric). Viewed narrowly, logic, as in Cicero's *Topica*, includes *inventio* and *iudicium*, but viewed broadly, it includes grammar, dialectic, and all five parts of rhetoric. *Eloquentia* must be joined to *sapientia*, which includes *ratio* (physics), 'speculativa quia ad dei cultum pertinet', and 'ethica/activa

Another way of neutralizing rhetoric was to join it, as *eloquentia*, with *sapientia*, as Cicero does in the prologue to his *De inventione* (where 'wisdom and knowledge' control the arbitrary and wanton use of eloquence — 'dicendi assiduitas, eloquentia, copia dicendi'), and with 'studia rationis et officii, id est, dilectio dei et proximi'.[26]

The easiest way of neutralizing rhetoric, however, was to concentrate on knowledge structures rather than practice. This meant close attention to the *Ad Herennium* and the *De inventione*, as the most accessible of the classical texts covering all aspects of the art of rhetoric. In his *De inventione* commentary William of Champeaux,[27] following Cicero, elaborates on the theoretical nature and place of rhetoric, pointing out that the *genus artis rethorice* is *civilis scientia* ('the master discipline of rhetoric is civil science'), a subject that does not need the profundities of *physica* since it only seeks to profit citizens and their *patria* ('fatherland'). *Civilis scientia* divides into *in dictis* ('as far as words are concerned'), and *in factis* ('as far as deeds/actions are concerned'), and the former divides into *cum lite, scientia causidicorum* ('with litigation, the science of the advocates'), and *sine lite* ('without litigation', i.e. history, poetry). *Cum lite* divides into *artificiosa* (a skill taught by art, for use by *oratores*) and *inartificiosa* (without the use of a taught art, for use by lawyers, 'since among them they litigate concerning the judgement at stake; they do not use arguments as the orators do, but only authorities at law [...]. Their duty is to use only authorities. They exceed their brief if they use arguments in their disputes').

These distinctions enabled the rhetors of the day to speak only of theory, but even here there were further restrictions. As the Master 'G' of Durham MS C.IV.29 explains,

> The subject-matter of the *De inventione* is artificial eloquence, not in its absolute existence, for that would be a subject-matter appropriate not to man, but God, as it would then be a certain ability founded in the soul, but as it is used in practice (*in agente*), in a speech (*in oratione*).[28]

[...] ad cultum proximi et tota est in officiis et non in considerationibus et ideo per officium intelligimur ethicam' (York, Minster Library, MS XVI.M.7, fols 1^{v}b–2^{r}a).

[26] *De inv*. 1.1.1, 1.2.3, 1.3.4: 'Assiduous study of the art of speaking, eloquence, abundance of discourse', 'studies in reason and duty, that is, love of God and one's neighbour'.

[27] On which, see below at note 44.

[28] Durham MS C.IV.29, fol. 196^{r}a.

Our glossator goes on to prefer the *De inventione* where the author 'de elocutione [...] pauca subicit' ('submits very little about elocution') to the *Ad Herennium*, noting that neither text refers to the other. The *De inventione* has two advantages over the *Ad Herennium*: it deals only with the first part of rhetoric (*inventio*), avoiding, therefore, all that is dynamic and potentially out of control, and it has already a comprehensive commentary written by the Neoplatonist Victorinus.[29] The outcome of all this is a concentration upon judicial *stasis*/*status*-theory rather than oratorical practice. Our glossator proposes to deal with the subject 'not yet, I say, as if it were informed with practical experience, but as it exists [beforehand] as a proposition in the intellect of the orator'. The commentator goes on to describe *inventio* in a way that suggests his preoccupation with the niceties of theory:

> *Inventio* means more than the finding of arguments, which we take to apply only to the confirmation of our own arguments, the refutation of those of our adversary, and part of the conclusion, but we take it also to mean the finding of what applies to the *exordium*, the narration of our case, the subdivision of what we have to deal with and the rest of the conclusion, since all this helps to render the case for us a probable one, and so all the parts of rhetoric will be in all the parts of its instrument, that is, the speech, and so it is well said that rhetoric uses the speech as its instrument.[30]

What William of Champeaux and his contemporaries were doing, then, was to adjust rhetoric as a tool of 'individual systemic power' to the controlling demands of a hegemonic 'central' system.

An important aspect of this 'controlling' of rhetoric in William of Champeaux's day was the preference for the *De inventione* over the *Ad Herennium* as the key rhetorical text.[31] For a start, William concentrated on the *De inventione* and considered the *Ad Herennium* a secondary text. The *Ad Herennium*, in fact, stood at some disadvantage, in regard to the logical/dialectical, grammatical, and semantic interests of scholars in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries,[32] interests which were much better catered to by the *De inventione*. The *Ad Herennium* had no *accessus*, or 'introduction', to match that found in the *De inventione*; it was relatively 'amoral' and drew fewer guidelines for moral and amoral or immoral stances by rhetors and orators than did the *De inventione*.[33] It was also a complete rhetoric, before the time that interest was aroused in the whole structure of the art;[34] less of it was devoted to the popular theory of argumentation, and fully 40 per cent of it was devoted to metaphoric language, the *colores rhetorici*, which stood under some disfavour in the eleventh century.[35]

---

[29] See above, note 4.

[30] Durham MS C.IV.29, fol. 201^{v}a. Our author is not oblivious to the practical uses of rhetorical theory in his day, but not in regard to the constructing of speeches. See John O. Ward with Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Rhetoric in the Time of William of Champeaux', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des* XI^{e}–XII^{e} *siècles: Texts, maîtres, débats*, ed. by Irène Rosier-Catach, Collection Studia Artistarum (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 219–33 (pp. 229–30).

[31] I will not include much attention to the *De inventione* from this point onwards, as it covers only the first of the five parts of classical rhetorical theory.

Despite these dissuading factors, there were, as we have seen, *before* Thierry of Chartres wrote *his* commentary on the text,[36] three major *catena* commentaries on the *Ad Herennium* surviving in large part, of the five that survive in more fragmentary form. Further, Rupert of Deutz, about the time of the first love affair between Abelard and Heloise, chose the anonymous text as his rhetorical framework text,[37] in his *De operibus spiritus sancti* (part of his *De*

---

[32] On the status and influence of logic in the intellectual life of our period, on the debates that nourished it (for example were *genera* and *species* things, concepts, or just 'words'?), and on the central role of William of Champeaux in it, see John Marenbon, 'Logic at the Turn of the Twelfth Century: A Synthesis', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des xi^{e}–xii^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 181–217.

[33] See Virginia Cox, 'Machiavelli and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Deliberative Rhetoric in *The Prince*', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 38 (1997), 1109–41.

[34] In the second half of the twelfth century and culminating in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova*, a heightened interest in *Ad Herennium* IV as a source for the figures of thought and speech which animated teachers of *dictamen* and the *artes poetriae* developed. This development was not without antecedents in the previous period.

[35] See John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 361, index s.vv. 'Onulf of Speyer'.

[36] Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, ed. by Karin Margareta Fredborg (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988).

[37] All contemporaries, of course, accepted that it was by Cicero, though some raised queries, in that the completed rhetoric indicated at the end of the *De inventione*: 'Quare, quoniam et una pars ad exitum hoc ac superiore libro perducta est et hic liber non parum continet litterarum, *quae restant in reliquis dicemus*' (my italics). See Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere Oratorum, Topica*, trans. by H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 345: 'Therefore since one section (*inventio*) has been brought to completion in this and the preceding book, and this book has grown to a great length, we shall leave the other topics (i.e., presumably *dispositio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*, *elocutio*) for the later books'; this was hardly likely to be the *Ad Herennium*, as

Sancta Trinitate).[38] The first of these *catena* glosses is by 'Magister Menegaldus' (Manegold of Lautenbach, the celebrated papal controversialist in the investiture controversy?).[39] It survives uniquely in one manuscript and, unfortunately, has a lacuna which includes the commentary — such as it was — on *pronuntiatio*.[40] The second *catena* commentary is by 'Magister Odalricus', *scholasticus* and *presbyter* (deacon?) at Rheims Cathedral,[41] elevated to the cardinalate in 1107 AD as a papal consolation prize for missing out on the archbishopric of Rheims.

---

it repeated all the material on invention in a somewhat different manner to that found in the Ciceronian work.

[38] See Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Ciceronian Rhetoric and the Schools', in *Learning Institutionalized*, ed. by John Van Engen (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), pp. 21–41 (p. 24). There are some twenty-five separate *catena* glosses on the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium* surviving in full or part from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in a little over one hundred manuscripts. The twelfth century was responsible for some 81 per cent of all texts of the *Ad Herennium* written before the thirteenth century. Twice as many copies of the *De inventione* survive from the twelfth century, as from all previous centuries. For details, see my paper to appear in a volume edited by Nancy Van Deusen from Brill, Leiden. The twelfth century also sees one of the most amazing rhetorical texts of all time: Stephen of Rouen's 'abridgement' of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, so carefully done, he says in his preface, that the reader would not know that Quintilian did not write it! See Ward, 'Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution', n. 6.

[39] See Irene Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des xi^{e}–xii^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 317–49, especially pp. 334–44, for the commentary on the *De inventione*. See also the index s.v. 'Manegold of Lautenbach', p. 749 of Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030–1122)*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2007). On Manegold's *De inventione* commentary and its unique features, see the very learned contribution in the present volume by Karin Margareta Fredborg, who stresses that 'Manegold prefigures the early Italian humanists, Brunetto Latini and others, in his extensive use of illustrative examples from Sallust's speeches'. Had his commentary on *pronuntiatio* survived, we might have learned more of his interest in delivered speeches. Fredborg makes a very good case for the primacy of Manegold in *De inventione* commentation and discusses very pertinently whether 'Magister Menegaldus' is or is not Master Manegold of Lautenbach. On Renaissance rhetorical approaches, see the paper in the present volume on Thomas Nashe, by John Pendergast.

[40] Trier, Bistumsarchiv (Bischöfliches Archiv; until 1936 Dombibliothek), MS 18-III containing a *De inventione* commentary by Magister Menegaldus, 'Quam Greci vocant retoricam latini dicunt artificiosam eloquentiam[...]' (a full version — the apparent 'lacuna' fols 90^{v}–91^{r} does not betoken much loss of text), and an *Ad Her.* commentary by the same Magister Menegaldus, 'Etsi: Herennius amicus erat [...]', with a lacuna from *Ad Her.* 3.9.16 to 4.20.27. See Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques Latins aux xi^{e} et xii^{e} siècles*, 3 vols in 2 (Paris: CNRS, 1989), iii.2, 49: s. xii^{ex}.

[41] Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise*, p. 361; index s.vv. 'Oda[e][o]lricus of Rheims'.

It survives also in one manuscript,[42] which includes a modest commentary on *pronuntiatio*.[43] The third *catena* gloss is that of an author who may be identified as Abelard's teacher, William of Champeaux.[44] It survives somewhat extensively in several manuscripts and covers *pronuntiatio*.[45] I propose here to deal only with the last of these three commentators, whose glosses we have already met with in this paper, because he is the better known, and the scholar most commented upon of the three in modern times.

An introduction to the development of views about William and his commentaries and to the problems of authorship and dating must start with the earliest modern scholar to deal with William's texts and whose work is still largely unpublished. When Mary Dickey, a student of R. W. Hunt, carried out her pioneering work on the rhetorical commentaries of the first half of the twelfth century (and earlier),[46] she dealt in the main with writings about the *De inventione*, as almost all the works she surveyed dealt only with that text.

---

[42] There is also a small fragment of Odalricus's commentary in Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 9991, fols 85–87^{v} (s. xii).

[43] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1082 (32)-IV xii, containing an *Ad Herennium* commentary 'hunc librum scripsit Tulius rogatu amici sui Herennii et facit in eo perfectum tractatum rethorice artis' / 'prius in hoc prologo que potest dici prologus ante rem excusationem premittat dicens se inpeditum fuisse et aliorum amicorum negotiis' fols 157^{r}–171^{v} and a *De inventione* commentary by Victorinus, extending from *De inv.* 1.40.74 (*Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Halm, p. 247, line 27) to the end, fols 172^{r}–179^{v}. See Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques Latins*, I, 329, 'xi'. The commentary on *pronuntiatio* extends from fol. 164^{v} to fol. 165^{r}.

[44] See Ward with Fredborg, 'Rhetoric in the Time of William of Champeaux' (and also Klaus Jacobi, 'William of Champeaux, Remarks on the Tradition in the Manuscripts', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 261–71). On William's fame as 'the most accomplished instructor in every branch of learning of all the men of the present day whom I have known', as 'an angel from heaven: for the sweetness of his words and the profundity of his thought seem to transcend human ability', see Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, trans. with an intro. and notes by Robert Ziomkowski, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 121–22. This view was not, of course, shared by Abelard; see Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in *The Story of Abelard's Misfortunes*, trans. by J. T. Muckle (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1954), pp. 14–17; or Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, ed. by J. Monfrin (Paris: Vrin, 1967), pp. 64–67.

[45] For details see the forthcoming edition (for Brepols) of the two commentaries by William, ed. by Juanita Ruys, John Scott, and John O. Ward. The coverage of *pronuntiatio* is on fols 59^{r}b–60^{r}b of York MS XVI.M.7.

[46] See above, note 14.

She admitted that most of her masters were interested in logical problems, not matters of expression, in regard to which all masters saw the *Ad Herennium* as the main guide, but the only master to comment on this text (now known as William of Champeaux) is 'uninteresting', makes very little reference to the conditions of his day, is 'lifeless', and has nothing new to say on the first part of the *Ad Herennium*, except to note discrepancies with the *De inventione*. On delivery, memory, and style, he merely paraphrases the *Ad Herennium* instead of applying the rules for delivery, memory, and style to the text as a whole,

> nor does he apply the rules to the writing or speech of his time. His original remarks are mainly confined to pointing out differences between various figures of word or speech which seem alike [...]. He merely paraphrases the examples in the text, explaining difficult words or personalities of Roman history [...]. Clearly, for the master of this work, the *De inventione* was much more interesting than the *Liber ad Herennium* [...] rhetoricians in the northern French schools of the eleventh and twelfth century contributed more at this period to processes of thought than to literary composition [...] their grammar remains a subject clearly distinguishable from rhetoric [...] one must ascribe what literary touches there are in the rhetorical commentaries to the influence of grammar and not rhetoric [...] the masters were well versed in both aspects of grammar, the study of language and literature, but rather strangely paid little or no attention to the teaching of an expressive style, or to the figures of word and speech which were considered the prerogative of rhetoric.[47]

For Mary Dickey, the author of the commentaries we are looking at here was anonymous. The first scholar to propose William as the author of these texts was Karin Margareta Fredborg, today's leading scholar on these commentaries.[48] Fredborg echoes almost word for word Dickey's judgement of the *Ad*

---

[47] See Dickey, 'The Study of Rhetoric in the First Half of the Twelfth Century', pp. 210, 212, 214–25. I have quoted at some length because the work, however deserving, is unpublished, except in its early part (and that inaccurately; see note 14, above).

[48] Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, 17 (1976), 1–39 (p. 21). On the subject of authorship of the William of Champeaux commentaries, it is here possible only to refer to Fredborg's argument and to stress that Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 553 pretty certainly does call its version of the *De inventione* gloss the 'Rethorica Guilelmi'. While the congruence of passages cited by Fredborg (linking 'Magister G' in Durham MS C.IV.29, the 'epilogue' to the two commentaries in York MS XVI.M.7, and the *De inventione* commentary in that MS all as the work of William of Champeaux, and much of the *De inventione* commentary here was known to Abelard in his gloss on Boethius's *De topicis differentiis*) is perhaps not as compelling in every case as she would like, particularly between the views set out in the 'Epilogue' and under the name of 'Magister G' in Durham

Herennium commentary in question and points out that William is far more interested in invention and the *De inventione* than in the *Ad Herennium*. His commentary on the latter work, she says, is little more than paraphrase, supplemented by careful analysis of deviations from the terminology of the *De inventione*, and certainly has little new to say on the other parts of rhetoric. Fredborg remarks that William's commentary is a mixture of Anselm of Laon's common sense and clarity of opinion, and Manegold's refined and scholastic endeavours. William makes an excellent selection of illustrative examples, displays a keen interest in contrasting rhetoric, dialectic, and other literary genres, and provides an interesting and elaborate discussion of rhetorical subject matter confined within the *genera* and the issues or *constitutiones*.[49]

Juanita Ruys herself, after studying the York manuscript of the *Ad Herennium* commentary, preparatory to the Brepols edition on which she is engaged, with John Ward and John Scott, wondered

> whether such an unaccomplished text could really be attributed to such a famous teacher. It gives the impression rather of being the text of something of a novice, or perhaps even a student compiling it for himself for the purposes of memorising the text better?[50]

MS C.IV.29 on the one hand, and the gloss *In primis* on the other, even broad similarities in this field and period should be taken as referring to a single master's reported views, because there are so few contemporary experts in our sources. The *De inventione* commentary *looks* like a version of lectures given at Laon by an authoritative figure in the early 1090s at the latest, which is why Father Hanrahan, who examined York MS XVI.M.7, reports in a letter to Rev. N. Häring in 1964, 'Thus the commentary *In primis* should, I think, be taken as representing the rhetorical teaching of Anselm of Laon, probably in the period 1096–1100'. This would seem unlikely as various indications of dating place the commentary earlier than this, and since it quotes Anselm it is unlikely to have been his work. Dickey, 'The Study of Rhetoric in the First Half of the Twelfth Century', p. 181 n. 2, also thought the 'epilogue' in York MS XVI.M.7 was possibly *not* by the author of the commentaries in the same volume. Durham MS C.IV.29, in turn, *looks* like a set of notes on the *De inventione* taken by a student who has also heard the lecturing of 'Master G'. Whether the *Ad Herennium* commentary in York MS XVI.M.7 and other MSS was also written at Laon, and is also by Master William is moot, but assumed to be so here. MSS Venice 4686 and Trier Stadbibliothek 1082 seem to contain *De inv.* and *Ad Her.* commentaries that are *not* by the same author, but in the case of the Guillelmus commentaries there is no reason to doubt the common authorship.

[49] Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux', p. 32. Cf. also Fredborg, 'Ciceronian Rhetoric and the Schools', p. 24, n. 24.

[50] E-mail to the author, 1 June 2006.

All this suggests that the *Ad Herennium* commentary *might* be the work of a follower of William, who went on teaching rhetoric at Laon after William left for Paris (in the mid 1090s?).[51]

The *Ad Herennium*, as we have said, did not become the major focus of commentators until the time of Alan of Lille, though Alan seems to have derived much of his commentary from Petrus Helias (famous for his *De inventione* 'summa'),[52] who *may* be the author of the *Ad Herennium* commentary in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS XI, 23 (4686) xii. However, this is to move far ahead of the subject of the present paper.

All of our three early authors explain the *Ad Herennium* in accordance with the need to adjoin other parts of the art of rhetoric and aspects of the *De inventione*: William uniquely refers to the *lex adiunctorum*. All authors override what a careful philological analysis would have revealed to them (i.e. that the author of the *Ad Herennium* could not have been the author of the *De inventione*), in favour of what they had been taught to expect. Clues to the real situation (the overlap and differences of treatment of invention in both works) are resolved with various explanations that leave a common authorship evident. William's gloss relies heavily upon elaborate paraphrase and close comparison with the *De inventione*. There are at least twenty-five cross-references from one text to the other, usually with the phraseology 'in alia rethorica', and usually to point out parallels between what was taught in the *De inventione* and what was taught in the *Ad Herennium* ('hoc est quod precepit in alia rethorica', or 'this is what he taught in the other rhetoric'), with at times a notice of differences between the two texts; all discrepancies between the two texts are explained as if the difference were more apparent than real, and at one point William, noting that the same examples appear in the two rhetorics under different headings, simply says 'it is not odd that the same example can serve different issues in different ways'!

Sometimes our author's close comparison between his two classical texts goes beyond what we might expect — because he has misread his text:

> *Hec* oratio: istud non dixerat in alia rethori[c]a
> [*this* speech: he did not say that in the other rhetoric].

---

[51] Ward with Fredborg, 'Rhetoric in the Time of William of Champeaux', pp. 221–22.

[52] On which see Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Petrus Helias on Rhetoric', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, 13 (1974), 31–41.

One reason for this is simply that the *Ad Herennium* reads at this point *hec omnia*,[53] not *hec oratio*, but even then, our commentator's remark is accurate: the paragraph as a whole, a key one, is not to be found in the *De inventione*!

William hints here and there at the salacious,[54] adds various comments from day-to-day life,[55] includes several extracts from or references to classical works (such as Horace's *Ars poetica*),[56] but also comments that one should not complicate poetry (Lucan) by reading Plato and Macrobius into it! Clearly the commentators believed that their students should be aware of the wider classical and late classical background. Sometimes the references are rather obscure, such as the addition to *Ad Herennium* 2.6.9, where the author is talking of speaking against or in favour of what witnesses say. One point is to argue that the witnesses could not have known what they allege, and William adds 'iuxta illud Canii: "si ego scissem tu nescisses"'. That is all. The passage comes from Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* Lib. 1 prose 4, where Boethius is defending himself against the charges that led to his death. He claims ignorance of any conspiracy and would have used Canius's answer to Caligula: 'If I had been made acquainted with it [the conspiracy made against Caligula], you would never have known of it', as he would never have broken his word. The lecturer must have expanded upon this allusion orally (and it is a rather appropriate illustration), and the student making the *reportatio* just put down the bare bones.[57]

---

[53] This reading is actually found in some manuscripts of William's glosses.

[54] See his comment on *turpitudo* under *pronuntiatio* from *Ad Herennium* 3.15.26: 'Conuenit in uultu inesse pudorem et acrimoniam, id est asperitatem. In gestu non conuenit esse uetustatem, id est rusticitatem, ut non habeat se ad antiquum morem rusticorum qui rusticius et incomposite se habebant magis quam moderni. Nec turpitudinem, id est lasciuam agitacionem. Ideo non sit turpitudo ne histriones uideamur. Ideo non sit uetustas ne operarii et fossores uideamur' (York MS XVI.M.7, fol. 59^{r}b). On this phenomenon in general, see Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence', in *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Rita Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 56–86.

[55] For example, on *Ad Herennium* 1.15.25: 'ex tran[s]latione, id est translatione criminis. in rem: Quidam Normannus Papie moriens pecunie sue pauperes scripsit heredes; scriptum hospiti tradit. Sed auaricia Papiensium ut Longabardorum uerbi gracia Singenulfi que sibi legem fecit ut res extraneorum forte ibi morientium domini ciuitatis uel publice haberent pecuniam illius mortui publicauit. Ergo si hospes accusaretur quia testamentum precipiebat non quod fecit per plebisscitum quod eum impediuit sese defenderet' (York MS XVI.M.7, fol. 53^{v}b). This curious anecdote tells of a certain Norman who died in Pavia and left his money to the poor, giving his will to his host, who, charged with trying to assign the goods of the Norman to the poor (as the will he took over requested), and hence against the legal enactment, could not defend himself by way of the plebiscite, presumably enacted by the Pavians, or Lombards, through Singenulf, because that plebiscite enacted that the goods of those foreigners who died in Pavia should go to the lords of the city or to the public. This section of the *Ad Herennium* is dealing with rejection of responsibility, under the heading of the assumptive juridical type of issue at stake, and the author tells us that an example of attribution to a circumstance is 'if a person should be forbidden by a plebiscite to do what a will has directed him to do'. The only trouble with the anecdote is that it does not make clear that Singenulf's enactment was by a plebiscite! Also, on *Ad Her.* 1.7.11 we find 'Item illud quod aduersarius e contrario poterit uti ita: "tu dicis quod tibi debet auxiliari quia liber eius es" et "michi quia seruus eius sum". Vel si alter dixit "miles eius", iste dicat "et ego clericus eius"; *ex contrario* id est ex opposito; hoc uocatur in alia "commutabile"' (York MS XVI.M.7, fol. 52^{v}a). The latter is a reference to the *De inventione* 1.18.26.

[56] On *Ad Her.* 1.7.11 William writes: 'Vt lenis sit sermo non altus non ampullis plenus et non ponantur ibi inusitata uerba, vt "cleperum labarum" quod est dubitabile signum' (York MS XVI.M.7, fol. 52^{v}a). This is a reference to Horace, *Ars poetica* 97: Telephus and Peleus, when each is poor and an exile, throw away their swelling expressions and words as foot and a half: 'ampullas et sesquipedalia verba'. As far as 'cleperum labarum' is concerned, John Scott writes to me: 'I can't find "cleperum" but "labarum" is associated with Constantine and the sign of the cross. Obviously it was an unusual word for the scribes too!'

In general, however, William passes fairly rapidly through much of the *Ad Herennium*. In regard to the figures of speech and thought, which make up Book 4 of the *Ad Herennium*, he reduces the weight of this section in his commentary: only 35 per cent of his commentary concerns this topic.[58] He can leave some figures with a one-line summary, ignoring completely their *exempla*, or he can devote vastly more space to the *exemplum* than to the figure itself. He is capable of passing by, without comment, ancient events and persons that would normally, for his students, require some explanation. Although he cites Priscian here and there, his grammatical comments are only occasional.

What did William owe to his two predecessors, whose works we do not have space to examine in any detail here? Odalricus is quite closely related to Manegold's glossing of the *Ad Herennium*, but the extant *reportatio* of his lectures is relatively scant, compared with what we find in the glossing by William and Manegold. Manegold is the fuller and more sophisticated, except in the later part of the *Ad Herennium*, where William offers, interestingly, a more comprehensive treatment of the ancient text than we find in Manegold, suggesting at the least that William insisted on his students reading and understanding the whole text of the *Ad Herennium* carefully, with a view towards using its advice at times themselves. William appears to be operating at some distance from Manegold,[59] though able to cite him here and there. Fredborg writes:

---

[57] I have to thank John Scott for reminding me that the source here is Boethius, *The Theological Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1918), pp. 148–49.

[58] Whereas some 40 per cent of the *Ad Herennium* was concerned with these figures of thought and speech — see above between notes 34 and 35.

> Manegold is quoted much more frequently and appears to have contributed very much to William's opinions and manner of interpretation, mostly introducing refinements of Victorinus and Boethius' views, especially so in stressing Boethius' doctrine of the *genera* and issues [...]. Anselm, on the other hand, is predominantly characterized by common sense and hesitation to introduce over-elaborate divisions and subdivisions.[60]

Both William and Odalricus might well have been operating from written *reportationes* of Manegold's lecturing, but if so, it is odd that they should have diverged so much in their adherence to what Manegold had said on the ancient text. Such *reportationes* must have existed because in York, Minster Library, MS XVI.M.7 and in the Berlin manuscript of Thierry's commentary chunks of Manegold's glossing are written into the presentation of glosses by other authors.[61] It is not, of course, impossible that William, lecturing in Laon, and

---

[59] Constant Mews, '*Logica* in the Service of Philosophy: William of Champeaux and his Influence', in *Schrift, schreiber, schenker: studien zur Abtei Sankt Viktor in Paris und den Viktorinern*, ed. by Rainer Berndt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), pp. 89–96, argues that the criticism of Roscelin found in William's *De inventione* commentary (on *Ad Her.* 1.6.10: 'Ab imitatione, quasi diceret: Audite quomodo omnia mutata sunt cum filius carnificis ad preturam tendat. Vel uictoria semper contigit modo uictus discessit. Uel imitatione, ut magistrum Roscelinum [corrected in superscript from 'ioscelinum' in MS Y] imitatur in loquendo. Inuersio est cum uictus uictorem superat et insuper oculos ei eruit. Deprauatione: Vt Roscelinus deprauauit dialecticam, modo uult deprauare nostras leges. Vel int[ra]nsitiue: deprauata immutatione et deprauata inuersione'; York MS XVI.M.7, fol. 52^{r}b) was 'probably made soon after the Council of Soissons and Roscelin's expulsion from France (c. 1090?)'. Comparative passages will be found in Filippo Bognini, 'Luoghi Sallustiani a chiosa del *De inventione* nel commento del "Magister Menegaldus" (secolo XI)', in *Novissima Studia: diece anni di antichista milanese*, ed. by Maria Patrizia Bologna and Massimiliano Ornaghi (Milano: Cisalpino, 2012), pp. 229–52. Bognini argues for a close relationship between Menegaldus and Guillelmus in the area of his chosen topic.

[60] Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux', p. 31.

[61] See Karin Margareta Fredborg's paper in the present volume. Mews argues in an unpublished paper on 'Remembering William of Champeaux: Scholasticism and Reform in France and Northern England in the Twelfth Century' that these chunks represent the teaching of Manegold of Lautenbach, and that William came 'under Manegold's influence during the 1080's, more likely at Laon or Reims than in Paris'. Charles Miramon, however, is not convinced and argues that we should think of two 'Manegold' personages: Charles Miramon, 'Guillaume de Champeaux et la règle de droit des personnes: Droit et communautés urbaines

Odalricus, lecturing at Rheims, had heard Manegold's lectures somewhere; the most likely place would probably have been Laon itself, and William, lecturing somewhat later and therefore a little more independently of Manegold, included some of Manegold's ideas, as well as some points made by Anselm of Laon, with both of whom he perhaps discussed the ancient text. Odalricus, if he too heard Manegold at Laon, left that town before William came to do his lecturing and so, at Rheims, was more extensively dependent upon Manegold's lecturing. However, all this is conjecture, impossible to demonstrate from the evidence.[62]

Our major manuscript of Odalricus's commentary,[63] dated *c.* 1100, contains, in the same hand as the *Ad Herennium* commentary, Victorinus's commentary on the *De inventione*. This is a conservative coupling and suggests either that the Trier manuscript copies an earlier manuscript with this coupling or that the Trier compiler preferred the ancient gloss to a medieval one or did not have a medieval gloss on the *De inventione* handy. If the Trier manuscript *is* a Trier production, it suggests close links between Rheims and the Rhineland and supports the possibility that Manegold taught there for a time, and confirms the stimulus that the investiture controversy may have supplied

---

dans la France du Nord au tournant du XI^e^ et du XII^e^ siècle', in *Der Einfluss der Kanonistik auf die Europäische Rechtskultur*, I: *Zivil-und Zivilprozessrecht*, ed. by Orazio Condorelli, Franck Roumy, and Mathias Schmoeckel (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), pp. 33–65 (p. 34, n. 4). See next note.

[62] Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux', pp. 14–15, has assembled the evidence that William of Champeaux was connected with Laon and its theological school and may have been taught by *Manegoldus, modernorum magister magistrorum*, who may have been Manegold of Lautenbach, although Fredborg does not think so. Dickey (above, note 14) discusses the references to Laon in William's *De inventione* commentary (York MS XVI.M.7 fols 14^{r}a, 18^{r}a, 20^{r}a). See also Wilfried Hartmann, 'Manegold von Lautenbach und die Anfänge der Fruhscholastik', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 26 (1970), 47–149, esp. pp. 85–89 and 147–49. Using only the known works of Manegold and restricting himself to the subjects of philosophy and theology, Hartmann feels that Manegold of Lautenbach might well have been *magister modernorum magistrorum* but that his links with the school of Laon cannot be proved conclusively. Irene Caiazzo (Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*', pp. 344–45) is inclined to accept that the Magister Menegaldus cited by William of Champeaux on rhetoric was Manegold of Lautenbach, and if he is not, it is certainly odd that William does not provide any further specification as to whom he is citing. Presumably, the lectures of Manegold on rhetoric pre-date his 'conversion' to theology — which, according to Hartmann (Hartmann, 'Manegold von Lautenbach', p. 148), he never fully understood.

[63] See above, note 43.

to rhetorical interests of the time and region. Odalricus's lectures are uniformly closer to Manegold's lecturing than William's, though on occasions William and Odalricus share items not in Manegold. Although closer to Manegold than William, Odalricus never cites Manegold as William does. Indeed, it is not impossible that Odalricus simply took over Manegold's lecturing on the *Ad Herennium* at Rheims (though, if so, why did he also not take over his lecturing on the *De inventione*?). Where William and Odalricus share items not found in Manegold, we can either suppose that our sole Manegold *Ad Herennium* manuscript is only one of several possible *reportationes*, and that others may have contained the items shared by Odalricus and William, or else that a third lecturer's work is involved, perhaps Anselm, or even Lanfranc, or, less possibly, an unknown figure.

Leaving aside here any further discussion of these commentators' views of *inventio*, *dispositio*, *memoria*, and *elocutio*, we conclude our essay with some remarks on the much neglected final part of the ancient rhetorical curriculum, *pronuntiatio*, or delivery, which features substantially in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[64] There is here only space here to look at one gloss, and we cannot, unfortunately, begin with Manegold, since the unique manuscript of his glossing on the *Ad Herennium* has a lacuna that covers 'delivery'.[65] However, to provide some sort of backdrop to any consideration of the medieval views of *pronuntiatio*, let us begin with the *Ad Herennium* itself, the first major Latin discussion of 'delivery'.

The ancient author devotes eight pages to 'delivery' and believes that 'an exceptionally great usefulness resides in the delivery' ('egregie magnam esse utilitatem in pronuntiatione').[66] He argues that no one in his day had adequately treated the subject in writing, believing it to be the prerogative of oral elocution teachers. His treatment is unusually scholastic and seems to rely upon an elaborate technical terminology. He divides *pronuntiatio* into 'figura vocis' (Voice Quality) and 'corporis motus' (Physical Movement). 'Figura vocis' divides into

---

[64] Caplan's notes give adequate reference to the treatment of delivery in Cicero's *De oratore* and in Quintilian's treatise. See also *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric*, ed. by Erik Gunderson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 347, s.v. 'delivery'. For an interesting parallel exploration of 'emotions' and the concepts of 'affectio' and 'habitus', see the paper by Rita Copeland in the present volume. Readers might be challenged to look at the role of emotions in the discussion of 'delivery' and to compare their treatment in delivery with what Copeland has to say.

[65] See above, note 40.

[66] See Caplan, pp. 188–89.

‘magnitudo’ (Volume), ‘firmitudo’ (Stability) and ‘mollitudo’ (Flexibility).[67] The first two our author is happy to leave to ‘the *phonasci*, teachers of singing and declamation’,[68] but he then diverges from this view and says that he should offer some advice to those who would acquire ‘Stability’ by declamatory practice, and certainly, for those studying ‘Flexibility’ with the declaimers, he should offer advice. In a sense, then, our author is setting himself up in rivalry to the teachers of declamation.

He advises students to begin their speeches in a calm and sedate voice, with long pauses, avoiding use of the full voice or loud exclamations and adopting the tone of conversation. Continuous full tone should be reserved for the end of the speech. ‘Flexibility’, which he now claims depends entirely upon rhetorical teaching (‘ad rhetoris praeceptionem’), he divides into ‘sermo’ (Conversational Tone), ‘contentio’ (Tone of debate), and ‘amplificatio’ (Tone of amplification). ‘Sermo’, subdivided into ‘dignitas’ (the Dignified mode), ‘demonstratio’ (the Explicative mode), ‘narratio’ (the Narrative mode), and ‘iocatio’ (the Facetious mode), is relaxed and the closest to daily speech. ‘Contentio’ is divided into ‘continuatio’ (the Sustained mode) and ‘distributio’ (the Broken mode). The former involves sped up full-voiced delivery and the latter requires sharp voicing and short, intermittent pauses. The tone of amplification, divided into ‘cohortatio’ (the Hortatory mode) and ‘conquestio’ (the Pathetic mode) rouses the audience to pitches of wrath or sympathy. The Hortatory mode amplifies some fault in the opposition’s presentation and arouses our indignation, whilst the Pathetic amplifies misfortunes and encourages pity and sympathy for our case.

The author has thus entitled and described eight separate subdivisions of ‘mollitudo’, and he proceeds to specify what delivery is appropriate for each of these tones.[69] Having done that, he specifies what bodily gestures are appropriate for each of these eight tones,[70] and passes on to the art of memory.[71]

In later antiquity, the subject of *pronuntiatio* remained in the curriculum, for example, among the *Rhetores latini minores*,[72] but during the earlier Middle

---

[67] I use here Caplan’s fine translation of these terms.

[68] Caplan, p. 192 note ‘b’.

[69] This he does in *Ad Her.* 3.14.24–25.

[70] *Ad Her.* 3.15.26–27.

[71] For further comment, see the notes of Gualtiero Calboli in [Cornifici], *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium, introduzione, testo critico, commento*, 2nd edn (Bologna: Pàtron, 1993), pp. 263–67.

[72] *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Halm, p. 650, index s.v. ‘pronuntiatio’.

Ages, the subject was not much addressed or glossed, except in a purely explanatory way, and since the *De inventione* did not treat the subject, little attention to the subject was paid by the earliest commentators.[73] The first to treat the subject extensively were the early *Ad Herennium* commentators and especially Magister Guillelmus,[74] who provides a close literal gloss on the whole of the *Ad Herennium* text at this point. A few sentences, however, must suffice here and must focus on a major question: Is there anything to suggest that contemporaries actually related the academic training in *pronuntiatio* outlined in the *Ad Herennium* to their declamatory performances in the dictaminal and other classrooms?

It seems clear that William of Champeaux's students were meant to read the *Ad Herennium* carefully on *pronuntiatio* and to relate it to their other trivial studies — in grammar, poetics, and, possibly, recitation/declamation. There are many hints that betray careful attention to the text, possibly with some experience of the tones that are being referred to. The commentator provides careful paraphrases at various points (not all of which are easy to follow in the *reportationes* we have) and seems keen that his students miss nothing. The references to Virgil's *Aeneid* 4, in *Ad Herennium* 3.14.24,[75] are perhaps worth citing at this stage:

> [yet not in such fashion] *that we pass* [from the practice of the orator] *to tragic practice*: that is, to excessive querulousness which is proper to the tragic mode, when actors deplore their own wretchedness with pedestrian conversational tone;[76] *rather thin-toned [voice]*: that is, lofty only to the point that it does not become restrained;[77] and *to engrave [in the hearer's mind]*, that is, to divide [the subject up clearly so that it becomes engraved] in the mind of the hearers; *likewise* as we

---

[73] See, however, Jan M. Ziolkowski, 'Do Actions Speak Louder than Words? The Scope and Role of *pronuntiatio* in the Latin Rhetorical Tradition with Special Reference to the Cistercians', in *Rhetoric Beyond Words*, ed. by Carruthers, pp. 124–50.

[74] In his gloss on the *Ad Herennium* entitled from its incipit *Etsi Cum Tullius*. I spoke at greater length on this topic at the 2013 meeting of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric, where I covered a wider range of texts and commentators.

[75] Italics indicate the *lemmata*, that is, the words from the *Ad Herennium* being commented on. These indications, being in an English translation, are only approximate. Passages in square brackets represent clearly the phrases that the lecturer must have said but which have been omitted in the *reportationes*. Occasionally, square brackets enclose dots, to indicate passages that have been omitted in my paraphrase.

[76] The commentator's addition?

[77] The commentator's addition?

> change the *words*, that is, we similarly change the *delivery* since every kind of word has its own kind of delivery.[78]
>
> [...] *[When the conversational tone is] in the narrative mode* [...] and if in our narration we have to pronounce some] *declarations*,[79] as Dido's to Anna;[80] *demands*, as Dido's to Aeneas;[81] *replies*, as of Aeneas to Dido.[82]
>
> [...] If there are any of these things *concerning the facts we are narrating* which might move to compassion, then *we shall give careful attention* to representing in our delivery the *feelings* and thoughts *of the persons in question*.
>
> [...] [Good examples here, as we have just seen, are to be obtained from Virgil's *Aeneid* Book 4, for example, the words] of Aeneas to Dido, of Anna or Aeneas to the pathetic words of Dido [speaking] of herself, as she glances at Aeneas' clothing and says 'spoils that were so sweet once, while fate and its god gave permission';[83] all of this Virgil describes sufficiently agreeably, both the words of Aeneas as he departs and of suffering Dido asking how just Aeneas's departure may be and the replies of Anna and Aeneas, attempting her blandishment.[84]

These passages suggest to me that William's students were definitely in the habit of reciting such texts and paying attention to how they should be accompanied by gesture and expression. Marjorie Curry Woods and Jan M. Ziolkowski have shown that highly emotional speeches by men and women, based on the *Aeneid*, were composed, recited, and neumed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[85] and it is only natural to suppose that instruction on gesture was also applied here. Our commentator shows interest in gesture and, although we have to enter into William's schoolroom through faulty and conflicting *reportationes*, I think that we can conclude that contemporaries paid careful attention to the *Ad Herennium*'s advice regarding *pronuntiatio*, even if they did not always choose to adhere to its advice.[86] If this were not relevant to contemporary delivery and recitation I cannot see why students would have been dragged through it. Further comment on these matters must await another occasion.[87]

---

[78] The words being apparently glossed here do not occur in our received text of the *Ad Herennium*.

[79] *Dicta*.

[80] *Aen*. 4. 416–36, 478–98.

[81] *Aen*. 4. 304–30.

[82] *Aen*. 4. 333–61.

[83] *Aen*. 4. 648–51, trans. by Frederick Ahl (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; repr. 2008), p. 97.

[84] *Aen*. 4. 31–53; York MS XVI.M.7 fol. 59^{v}b.

[85] See Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Rhetoric, Gender, and the Literary Arts: Classical Speeches in the Schoolroom' in *Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts*, ed. by Rita Copeland, David Lawton, and Wendy Scase, New Medieval Literatures, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 113–32; Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom', in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. by Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 284–94; see also Woods's highly relevant chapter in the present volume. Also Jan Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene:*

Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

[86] Note here Marjorie Curry Woods's essay in the present volume.

[87] See note 74, above.

The *De inventione* Commentary by Manegold (of Lautenbach?) and its Place in Twelfth-Century Rhetoric

Karin Margareta Fredborg

Manegold (Menegaldus, Mainegaudus, etc.) ‘the German’ is the name of a master who in the end of the eleventh century turns up among masters such as Lanfranc of Bec, Robert of Paris, the controversial logician Roscelin, and Arnulf of Laon.[1] The historian Otto of Freising places a master Manegold in the company of Berengard and Anselm of Laon.[2] William

---

[1] Irene Caiazzo, ‘Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*’, in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des* xi^{e}*–*xii^{e} *siècles: Texts, maîtres, débats*, ed. by Irène Rosier-Catach, Collection Studia Artistarum (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 317–49 (p. 318, n. 5 Latin text); Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, trans. with an intro. and notes by Robert Ziomkowski, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), p. 123 (English translation). See also the contribution by John O. Ward in this volume.

[2] From Constant Mews, ‘William of Champeaux, the Foundation of Saint-Victor (Easter, 1111), and the Evolution of Abelard’s Early Career’, in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des* xi^{e}*–*xii^{e} *siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 83–104 (p. 92, n. 30).

Karin Margareta Fredborg is external examiner at the University of Copenhagen, Saxo Institute, Greek and Latin division. Her fields of interest include theoretical advances and didactic strategies in medieval grammar and rhetoric. Her publications include editions of medieval grammatical, dialectical, and rhetorical texts and some forty journal articles and book chapters; most recently, she has published ‘The Ars Poetica in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: From the Vienna Scholia to the Materia Commentary’, *Aevum*, 88.2 (2014). She is presently engaged in the ninth- to twelfth-century reception of commentaries on Horace’s *Ars poetica* for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, and, in collaboration with Irène Catach, Anne Grondeux, and Eleonora Lorenzetti, she is editing the *Glosulae In Priscianum Maiorem* and affiliated texts for the Studia Artistarum series (Brepols).

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 45–64
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107448

of Champeaux's rhetoric sets up the opinions of master Manegold against those of Anselm.[3] One Manegold (or more than one Manegold) is quoted in various anonymous texts used in the teaching of grammatical theory, namely Priscian, interpreting the philosophers Plato and Boethius (*Consolation of Philosophy*), and writing commentaries on the poets Horace, Virgil, and Ovid.[4] The most certain attribution of a text to Manegold is not in *Auctores* but in rhetoric, as has been established by Mary Dickey and John Ward.[5] Here Manegold's commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* displays an acutely scholastic grasp of rhetorical doctrines to the point when even finer dialectical-rhetorical interface procedures are debated. Yet at the same time, Manegold's respect for rhetorical practice underpins his analysis of no less than thirteen passages from speeches in Sallust's *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*, so in that respect this late eleventh-century master prefigures some of the later medieval rhetoricians we normally associate not with scholasticism, but with humanism.

---

[3] Cf. Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'The Commentaries on Cicero's *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* by William of Champeaux', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, 17 (1976), 1–39 (pp. 31–32).

[4] Manegold is cited in the Priscian commentary, *Note Dunelmenses* section III, Durham, Cathedral Library, MS C.IV.29, fols 91^{v}a, 130^{r}b along with M. Anselmus; cf. Richard W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries I: Petrus Helias and his Predecessors', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 1.2 (1941–43), 194–231 (p. 209); Richard W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century II: The School of Ralph of Beauvais', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1950), 1–56 (p. 40); cf. Petrus Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. by Leo Reilly (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), p. 131. For his teaching of Plato, Boethius, and the Latin poets, cf. Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Etude des auteurs classiques aux IX^e et XII^e siècles*, 4 vols (Paris: CNRS, 1982–), IV.1 (2009), 52–53. Manegold taught Horace, *Ars poetica*, according to a reference to him in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 327, fol. 8^{r}a; cf. Claudia Villa, 'Tra *fabula e historia*: Manegoldo di Lautenbach et il "maestro di Orazio"', *Aevum*, 70.2 (1996), 245–56. There is a reference to master Manegold teaching Horace's *Epistles* in the fragmentary *Epistles* commentary, found in Bern, Burgerbibl., MS 327, fol. 14^{r}b: *Ep*. I.1.95. 'Subuculam uocat pan<n>um appositam PEXE uesti id est trite et dicitur subucula a subtus et colo, colis. Hec est sententia m<agistri> Menegaudi = "Incipit Liber Epistolarum"'; Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS 1433, fol. 20^r: 'SUBUCULA uocat pannum appositum PEXE uesti id est TRITE et dicitur subucula a subtus et colo, colis'.

[5] Mary Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1968), 1–41; *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 70. Cf. John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 136.

Whether our Manegold is Manegold of Lautenbach, canon regular of Marbach and engaged in the investiture conflict, is a matter of debate. F. Chatillon preferred a multitude of unconnected Manegolds, but recent research by Irene Caiazzo, Robert Ziomkowski, and John Ward has gone in the opposite direction.[6] If you side with those who feel confident that the Manegold is Manegold of Lautenbach, you'd have to assume that this Manegold first was keen on teaching the *Artes*. However, around 1085, in at least one of his two pamphlets for the investiture conflict, the *Liber contra Wolfhelmum*, he underwent a conversion and attacked pagan philosophers on points of orthodoxy, for instance the Stoic and Epicurean material concept of the soul so that at death the souls would perish with the body, the Neopythagorean doctrine of transmigration of the soul, the Platonic tenets like *anima mundi* and *creatio* not *e nichilo* but out of pre-existing matter, etc.[7]

For our purposes, a Manegold working on rhetoric, Priscian, Horace, Ovid, and Virgil does not necessarily involve such a conversion.[8] On the contrary, a broad mastery of the *Artes*, including correct and fluent Latin, and precise knowledge of effective rhetorical argumentation would come to his advantage when he supported Pope Gregory VII. Also, Manegold's rhetoric is closely linked to the fourth-century learned grammarian, rhetor, philosopher, and theologian Marius Victorinus, whose conversion to Christianity is celebrated in St Augustine's *Confessions* (VIII, 2 and 4). Manegold cites Victorinus's commentary on *De inventione* time and again, both for doctrine and illustrative examples, and has a special predilection for Victorinus's many philosophical digressions. Precisely because of his breadth of learning and philosophical inclination, Manegold inaugurates two important strands in medieval rhetoric, a scholastic bent with a platonizing side, and a keen eye for illustrative examples, particularly in his innovative use of Sallustian examples and interpretations.

---

[6] F. Chatillon, 'Recherches critiques sur les différent personnages nommés Manegold', *Revue du Moyen âge latin*, 9 (1953), 153–70. See Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*'; Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, trans. by Ziomkowski; and Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise*. Charles de Miramon is the only voice of dissent; see Charles de Miramon, 'Quatre notes biographiques sur Guillaume de Champeaux', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 45–82 (p. 52, n. 25), distinguishing between master M and Manegold of Lautenbach.

[7] Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, trans. by Ziomkowski, pp. 13–14.

[8] *Logica Modernorum*, ed. by Lambert Maria De Rijk, 2 vols (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), II.1, 230, mentions a Manegold philosophus, friend of Ivo of Chartres.

The Commentary by Manegold on Cicero's De inventione

Manegold's *De inventione* commentary itself has come down in two versions, one found only in Trier, Bistumsarchiv, MS 18, fols 81^{r}a–125^{r}a (s. xii), another from both a Heidelberg manuscript with the complete text, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 100, fols 1^{r}–30^{v} (henceforth H),[9] and a Cologne manuscript, Erzbishöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 197, fols 1^{r}–49^{v} (s. xii) only covering *De inventione* i.1.1–ii.15.49 (henceforth K),[10] and it is this last version of H and K which is my topic here. This is that very version that appears to have influenced the rhetorical commentaries by William (of Champeaux?) who quotes it often and precisely, and to a certain extent also those of Thierry of Chartres and Petrus Helias.[11] The *accessus* of Manegold's *De inventione* commentary precedes the commentary written by his student William (of Champeaux?) in one manuscript of that work, York, Minster Library, MS XVI.M.7 (henceforth Y) fol. 1^{r}a–^{v}a. Another Manegold fragment on *De inventione* i.28.41–42 is sandwiched between Thierry of Chartres's *De inventione* and his *Ad Herennium* commentary in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. oct. 161 (formerly Phillips 9672), fol. 36$^{ra–va}$.[12]

The rhetorical commentary was not Manegold's first work. Dealing with the topic of *nature* as compared to *art*, Manegold says in the introduction that eloquence can be considered in different ways, that is, according to nature, or to study, or to training or *ars* instruction — with an etymological explanation of *natura* – *natus* as having been dealt with elsewhere. I do not know to which work of Manegold's this might refer. In fact, nearly all the other fields of study associated with the teaching of Manegold could be a possible platform to discuss *natura*, both the *Timaeus* 29C–D, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, and many passages from the classical poets.

---

[9] <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs100>.

[10] See *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis*, <www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>, first described by Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione*', pp. 2–3.

[11] On the two versions, see Munk Olsen, *L'Etude des auteurs classiques*, iv.1, 53, and Filippo Bognini, 'Luoghi Sallustiani a Chiosa del *De inventione* nel commento del "Magister Menegaldus" (secolo xi)', in *Novissima Studia: diece anni di antichista milanese*, ed. by Maria Patrizia Bologna and Massimiliano Ornaghi (Milano: Cisalpino, 2012), pp. 229–52. Filippo Bognini's edition of Manegold's rhetorical commentary will appear very soon under the title: Menegaldi *in Ciceronis Rhetorica glose*, ed. by Filippo Bognini, Millennio Medievale, 104. Testi 23 (Firenze: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo).

[12] Cf. Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, ed. by Karin Margareta Fredborg (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), p. 36.

The rhetorician Manegold was a learned person who was familiar with a monastic environment, well at home with grammatical and dialectical texts and terminology of his time, and quoted both the poets Terence, Statius, Lucan, Virgil, and the philosophical commentaries by Boethius to Aristotle. He is the first medieval rhetorician I know to quote 'domino Quintiliano' on the definition or name of rhetoric (Quint. *Inst.* II.14.1), a habit later picked up by Thierry of Chartes in a much echoed formula: 'If anyone wants to know how rhetoric is defined, they should read Quintilian *De institutionibus oratoriis*'.[13]

Rhetoric and the Reading of the Classical Rhetorical Speeches

Manegold's thirteen references and quotations from the popular *Jugurtha* (five quotes) and the even more popular *Catilina* (eight quotes) by Sallust, however, are very unusual for eleventh- and twelfth-century rhetoric. This is a completely uncommon number of quotations from Sallust, and, moreover, they concern precise details of argumentation strategies that go far beyond what may be warranted by these short and popular classical texts — albeit that their rhetorical nature is widely attested and the speeches already circulated separately in antiquity.[14]

Let two examples suffice, since all the Sallustian references have recently been excerpted and briefly discussed by Filippo Bognini, who compares them with the parallel passages in the commentaries by Victorinus and Manegold's student, William (of Champeaux?).[15] My first example is from the *Catilina* on the details of the type of bifurcated argumentation called the dilemma (*com-*

---

[13] Cf. Thierry, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries*, ed. by Fredborg, pp. 51, 55; Wibald of Corvai, *Epistola* 147, in *Patrologia cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), CLXXXIX, col. 1254C; see also Alanus in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, p. 415, and Petrus Helias in Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Petrus Helias's *Summa* on Cicero's *De inventione*', *Traditio*, 64 (2009), 139–82 (p. 164). See also the article by Rita Copeland in this volume.

[14] For Sallust's popularity, see *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. by L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 341–47, and Birger Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, Quaderni de cultura mediolatina, 1 (Firenze: Galuzzo, 1991), p. 121; Patricia J. Osmond and Robert W. Ulery, Jr, 'Sallustius', in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, vol. VIII, ed. by Virginia Brown (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), pp. 183–301; Munk Olsen, *L'Etude des auteurs classiques*, II (1985), 311–17, notes *c.* fifteen *accessus* to *Catilina* and to *Jugurtha* each, and some full commentaries.

[15] Bognini, 'Luoghi Sallustiani a Chiosa'.

plexio) setting up the alternatives: the less important (*levius*) versus the more sinister (*gravius*).

> The description here of the argument, the two-pronged dilemma, is given in order to show that whatever of the two options you prefer, you will be criticized. Just as Caesar does in his speech (Sallust, *Cat*. 51.23–24), saying 'whether you choose the easier solution, or you choose the more serious', and then he proceeds to criticize both by saying: 'The easier', etc. This is also the case in (Cicero's) example here.[16]

My other Sallustian quotation belongs to the set of nine quotations that explicitly mention Sallust's name, what Manegold's follower and student William (of Champeaux?) never does, when he uses Manegold's comments and/or examples. This quotation from Sallust is one of four dealing with the (explicit and often admired) rhetorical strategies in exiled Numidian prince Adherbal's speech to the Roman Senate against his adopted cousin, the usurper Jugurtha. It is a good deal more detailed than the first example, presumably because Manegold first of all wants to rival his predecessor Victorinus, who generally quotes from Cicero's own speeches. Manegold here goes out of his way to illustrate the individual, detailed precepts for calling upon empathy and indignation in the ending of a speech, whereas Victorinus is brief and, as a rule, leaves the more detailed illustrations to Cicero himself in Book ii of the *De inventione*. So first Adherbal's conclusion is quoted, persuading his audience to foresee the worst possible outcome, if his advice is not taken, and then Adherbal's corroboration giving parallels from both past, present, and future. The illustrative tags from Adherbal's speech are here so short that it would be reasonable to expect that the rhetoric students had studied or knew the text of *Jugurtha* Chapter 14 by heart:

> The second topic for argument is subdivided into a chronological sequence, namely in their present misfortune, and that of the past, and the one of the future. That topic for argument is notable in Sallust (*Jug.* 14.9–10), where Adherbal complains saying: 'Shall we always dwell among blood, arms, and exile'. And then he divides his arguments into periods of time: 'But when the Karthaginians were unconquered', etc., then later he refers to the future saying: 'But after this pestilence', etc.[17]

---

[16] MS K, fol. 26^{r}, MS H, fol. 11^{r}, *In De inv.* i.29.45: 'Quia uera complexio in nulla parte reprehenditur, sed datur hec descriptio complexioni in designatione false complexionis quia illius quecumque pars elegatur reprehenditur. qualem Cesar in oracione sua facit cum dicit: (*Cat.*, 51.23–24) "Aut quia levius est aut quia gravius est". Postea enim utramque partem reprehendit dicens, "Sin quia levius", etc. Tale est etiam exemplum quod hic ponitur.'

[17] MS K, fol. 38^{v}, MS H, fol. 17^{r}, *In De inv.* i.55.107: 'Secundus locus distribuitur in

William follows Manegold but quotes only the most memorable part of this threefold Sallustian argumentation, namely 'Shall we always dwell among blood, arms, and exile', and refrains from further exploitation of Manegold's use of Sallust here.[18] One wonders if it is by design that William omits any explicit reference to Sallust's name in all cases where he uses Manegold's illustrations, and generally deals more tersely and concisely with the Sallust material. As it is, if we peruse the other twelfth-century rhetorical commentaries by Thierry of Chartres, Petrus Helias, and Alanus, and the anonymous ones, it is noteworthy that in these we may find a few and scattered references to Sallust, but nothing comparable to Manegold's array of argumentation patterns used by Cicero's political antagonist. So, even though the commentary dates back to the late eleventh century, Manegold prefigures the early Italian humanists, Brunetto Latini and others, in his extensive use of illustrative examples from Sallust's speeches.[19]

Rhetoric and Ethics

Manegold devotes a good deal of energy to describing the points of ethics that are involved in Cicero's treatment, *De inventione* II.52.157–59.178, of the political speeches and the epideictic genre. The lawsuit, it is pointed out, differs from these genres in aim, since as a genre lawsuits deal with points of justice, according to natural, customary/common, or statute law respectively. But in a larger perspective of ethics, to be aiming at justice is to focus upon only one of the four cardinal virtues, so the political speeches and epideictic ones are taken

---

tempora scilicet in quibus malis nunc sit, et in quibus prius fuerit, et futurum erit. Qui locus in Sal<l>ustio notatur. Ut Atherbal conqueritur his uerbis: "Semperne in ferro, fuga, fame uersabimur?" Deinde diuidit in hec tempora: "Dum Karthagenienses incolumes fuere", etc. Postea subponit de futuro tempore dicens: "Postquam illa pestis", etc.'

[18] William (of Champeaux?), MS Y, fol. 28^{r}a, *In De inv*. I.55.107; cf. Bognini, 'Luoghi Sallustiani a Chiosa', p. 245.

[19] Virginia Cox, 'Ciceronian Rhetoric in Late Medieval Italy', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 109–43 (p. 120), and Stephen J. Milner, 'Communication, Consensus and Conflict', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 365–408 (p. 385), indicating that Brunetto Latini imported Sallust's works on Catiline into the Ciceronian rhetorical tradition both in the *Tresor* and the *Rettorica*. For the tradition of Sallust in Florentine historiography, see Patricia Osmond, 'Catiline in Fiesole and Florence: The After-life of a Roman Conspirator', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 7 (2000), 3–38. Sallust is quoted in Alanus's Commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; cf. Alanus, 'Eloquence is not perfect without wisdom. For this reason Sallust (*Cat.* 5.4) shows that Catiline was not an orator since he was not wise', from John O. Ward's translation, in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, p. 425.

to deal not only with what concerns justice, but with the whole array of the various and different virtues that belong to the four cardinal virtues and their opposites. As it is, this succinct and easily memorable section of the *De inventione* on the doctrine of the four virtues and their opposite vices is often explored, perhaps even exploited, in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries and used for simply teaching the main tenets of ethics. Manegold here goes far deeper into the details of virtues and vices than other rhetorical commentators and even explores Plotinus's division of virtues from Macrobius (*Somn. Scip*. i.8.5–10).[20]

The two references to the division of virtues run like this. The first reference hinges on the nature of virtue which is sought purely for its own sake, seeking goodness (*honestum*), as opposed to what is aimed at for the sake of (temporary) usefulness (*utile*), or a mixture of both:

> Usefulness is divided in this way. Something is useful only, another thing is in principle good, and yet another is both useful and good. What is useful only belongs to wordly businessmen and immoral people, principally good things pertain to philosophers and eremites that have forsaken the world, whereas seeking the good *and* useful pertains to political leaders.[21]

The division into good only, useful only, and the mixture of both is here brought forward from Cicero's discussion in the end of Book ii of virtues and vices (*De inv*. ii.52.157–59.178), since Cicero's famous prologue on the wedding of Eloquence with Wisdom invites the discussion of the difference between philosophers on the one hand and political leaders on the other. In the next generation, Abelard, both in his *Theologia Christiana* Book ii and the dialogue between a Jew, a pagan philosopher, and a Christian, called the *Collationes*, discusses pagan virtues on the basis of *De inventione* and Macrobius's list of virtues in his commentary to *Somnium Scipionis*.[22] This obviously invites the speculation whether Abelard, who was a student of William of Champeaux and attended his rhetoric class, would have been acquainted with the teaching of William's teacher Manegold.[23] Abelard is supposed to have taught rhetoric himself, and in that connection it would be quite possible that he had studied the rhetorical commentators of his own and the preceding generation, including that of Manegold.

---

[20] Cf. Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*', p. 325, and Manegold von Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfhelmum*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 8 (Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1972) at pp. 93–94; in Manegold's rhetoric Plotinus's subdivision is mentioned at *De inv.* ii.53.159, MS K, fol. 3^{r}, cited in Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*', p. 343.

[21] MS K fol. 4^{r}, MS H fol. 2^{r}, *In De inv.* i.2.3: 'Unamquamque ideo dicit (dixit K), quia res utilis diuiditur hoc modo. Alia utilis tantum, alia honesta tantum, alia honesta et utilis. Utilis tantum negociatorum est et perditorum hominum (hominum] *om.* H), honesta tantum est (est] *om.* H) phylosophorum et heremitarum, honesta mixta cum utilitate est rectorum in ciuitatibus.'

[22] Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana*, ed. by E. M. Buytaert, Corpus Christianorum,

Manegold's second reference somewhat resembles Abelard's discussion, but is more specific when it introduces and balances Cicero's description and division of virtues with that of Macrobius (*Somn. Scip*. I.8.5–10). Manegold writes:

> He (Cicero) defines prudence by saying: 'Prudence is the knowledge of what is good and what is bad', and not with any reference to a specific age but in itself. [...] And note that virtue is here conceived not in totality but with limitations. For virtue exists universally in God, since he *is* virtue in itself, and in the good angels and in the eremites forsaking the world, and in the political leaders, and the last virtues are called the political virtues. [...] Although the virtues are to be perceived in this fourfold way, he (Cicero) here defines only the political virtues, for his definitions here of both virtue in general and of the parts of virtue do not suit virtue itself nor all the parts of virtue.[24]

In Manegold's discussion of ethics, Horace's definition of virtue in the *Epistle* I.18.9, 'virtue is a mean between vices removed from either extreme' ('Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum'), starts off the important discussion of virtue being a mean between contrary and conflicting vices. Here Manegold states that, first of all, the virtues in all their variety are never contraries or in

---

Continuatio Mediaevalis, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), II.64; II.66–68, at pp. 157–61; Peter Abelard, *Collationes*, ed. and trans. by John Marenbon and Giovanni Orlandi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), §103, p. 122; §132, p. 144; §§136–38, pp. 146–48.

[23] Cf. Constant Mews, 'Peter Abelard on Dialectic, Rhetoric, and the Principles of Argument', in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, Disputatio, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 37–53; Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Abelard on Rhetoric', in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540*, ed. by Mews, Nederman, and Thomson, pp. 55–80.

[24] MS H fol. 29^{r}, *In De inv.* II.53.159. 'Diffinit prudentiam dicens: PRUDENTIA EST RERUM BONARUM MALARUMQUE SCIENTIA per omne tempus. [...] Notandum quod uirtus non accipitur hic in omni significatione sui. Nam uirtus dicitur uniuersalis in Deo quod est ipsa uirtus, et in calodemonibus et in anachoritis et in rectoribus urbium, quae uocantur politicae uirtutes. [...] Cum igitur uirtutes quattuor dicantur modis, politicas tantum (tantum] tamen H) in hoc loco diffinit. Nam hae diffinitiones que hic uirtuti dantur et partibus non omni uirtuti conueniunt neque omnibus partibus.'

conflict, but only the vices are so. Secondly, all vices are not equally bad, but some of the vices may have affinity (by degrees) to certain virtues.

Cicero's own examples of absolute contraries are the virtue fortitude as opposed to the vice sloth, and his examples of opposites by degree are the two virtues/vices boldness (*fidentia*) and audacity (*audacia*), steadfastness (*perseverantia*) and pertinacity (*pertinacia*), or the mild vice superstition compared to the virtue religion. The examples indicated by Manegold (and William of Champeaux) are spelled out so that Cicero's convoluted definitions get somewhat clearer:

> Those things you should avoid are not only contrary to goodness, but also to each other. For what is wrong is not only the opposite of good, but also a contrary to (another) wrong. But no good is contrary to some other good thing, as you can see in these examples:
>
> Boldness belongs to what is good and is a type of goodness, wherereas audacity belongs to what is wrong. For an audacious person dares what he should not dare; on the other hand, a diffident person, that is a timid person, fears what should be feared, and hence (the mean) confidence is a virtue, which is what Horace means by saying: 'Virtue is a mean', etc.
>
> Likewise perseverance and levity are both contraries, of which the former is a virtue, the latter a vice. Pertinacity and levity are both contraries, even though both are vices; but pertinacity is related to perseverance, for perseverance is pertaining to what is good, pertinacity is what holds out (*perdurat*) among what is wrong.[25]

William's version is slightly shorter, and he acknowedges that he has the doctrine from Manegold and adds towards the end the restrictive rule that even though vices differ by degree and some of them have affinity to certain virtues, all vices nevertheless must be avoided:

---

[25] MS H fol. 29^{r-v}, *In De inv.* II.54.165: 'Quae uitanda propter se non solum honesto sunt contraria, sed etiam inter se. [...] Bonum uero bono numquam. Quod totum in his cognoscitur exemplis. Nam fidentia habetur in bonis specie, audacia uero in malis. Et est quodammodo medium fidentia inter diffidentiam et audaciam. Audax enim est qui audet etiam non audenda, diffidens uero, id est timidus, est qui timet quae sunt timenda; et ideo fidentia est uirtus. Unde dicit Oratius (*Epist.* I.18.9) "Virtus est medium", etc. Similiter perseuerantia et leuitas sunt contraria, quorum alterum est uirtus, alterum uicium. /fol. 29^{v}/ Pertinatia et leuitas, cum utrumque sit uicium, contraria sunt, pertinacia affinis est perseuerantiae, quia perseuerantia est quae in bonis, pertinacia uero quae perdurat in malis.' William, MS Y fol. 50^{r}b, *In De inv.* II.54.165: 'Horum medium est fidentia que virtus est quia audenda audet et timet timenda. Unde Oratius. "Virtus est medium viciorum utrimque reductum". Item pertinatia et levitas contraria sunt et utrumque malum est. Pertinatia vero affinis est perseverantie. Perseverantia enim in bonis est, pertinatia vero perdurat in malis.'

> It should be noticed that this doctrine in its totality is introduced here (by Cicero), in order that nobody would think that any of the vices should not be avoided just because they are closer to the virtues. And this is the opinion of master Manegold as opposed to that of Master Anselm.[26]

Certain general tenets of the individual philosophical schools of antiquity surface here and there in Manegold's commentary, for example, that the Epicureans saw pleasure (*voluptas*) as part of the aim for striving at virtue, whereas the Stoics in this matter opted for goodness (*honestas*). Whatever such discussions concerned, it is important to note that rhetoric as such should not discuss ethical positions in particular, and it is certainly not a part of the job of an orator to discuss real philosophical questions, for example, as Cicero's example goes: 'Whether sense-perception has any truth value' ('Verine sint sensus', *De inv*. I.6.8). At this point, however, Manegold cannot stop himself from at least giving a partial answer to that question, by quoting Boethius:

> Boethius proves the matter thus: All that does not pertain to the nature of substance, does not pertain to the nature of truth. But sense perception has nothing to do with the nature of substance; ergo the senses do not pertain to the knowledge of what is true. FOR SUCH QUESTIONS ARE FAR REMOVED FROM THE ORATOR'S JOB, not only the example in question, but general philosophical questions as such are not within the domain of the orator. Boethius uses the phrase 'the job of an orator' to show that, although the orator speaks of subject matter that is full of wisdom, he may discuss such general questions, only *not* in his capacity as orator.[27]

The treatment of virtues and vices in the *De inventione* makes Manegold's commentary on the *De inventione* appear to be not so much a manual on rhetorical argumentation, such as we find it in some of the later, more streamlined commentaries, such as that by Thierry of Chartres, but far more akin to the genre of commentaries on the classical authors, presented to the students for the sake of giving them a general education, providing them with a lot of 'good Latin' and imbuing them with a series of useful notions of ethics to be handy in their further education or functions in life.

---

[26] MS Y fol. 49^{r}b, *In De inv.* II.54.165: 'Nota quia hoc totum induxit, ne quis putaret aliqua minus esse vitanda, licet sint virtutibus proxima, et hec est sententia magistri Menegaldi. Secundum vero magistrum Anselmum [...].'

[27] MS K fol. 9^{r}, MS H fol. 4^{r}, *In De inv.* I.6.8: 'Boecius (Boethius, *Commentarii in librum Aristotelis Peri hermemias*, ed. by Karl Meiser, 2 vols (Liepzig: Teubner, 1880), II, 316.16–22) sic probat: Omne quod ad rationem substantie non pertingit, non contingit ad (*om.* K) nocionem ueritatis, sed sensus ad racionem substantie non pertingit; ergo nocionem ueritatis non contingit (contingit] contingunt K). QUAS QUESTIONES PROCUL AB ORATORIS OFFICIO REMOTAS, etc. Hoc non tantum ad exemplum referendum est sed etiam ad omnia illa quae thesis dicuntur. OFFICIO ORATORIS ideo posuit ut ostendat quod etsi aliquid quod orator dicit tante sciencie est quod omnibus questionibus uti potest, tamen non in eo quod orator.'

Rhetoric and Dialectic

As is common also in late eleventh-century commentaries on the classical authors, Manegold has an interdisciplinary, scholastic side, with interest in the structural details of argument, in topics for argument, why and how some arguments are only elliptic, etc. For instance, as in my first example below, he is very quick to point out details of argumentation for the five-part rhetorical syllogism, since his dialectical training makes him concerned with the young Cicero's hazardous use of *sillogismus* for his terminology. For *sillogismus* is normally taken in its Aristotelian sense and means the dialectical argument of three parts with two premises and a conclusion. Here Manegold simply twists and bends Cicero's five-part syllogism, or *epicheirema*, into the straitjacket of either the first-figure syllogism, which can take both a negative and a positive conclusion, or the second-figure syllogism, which must have a negative conclusion. So Manegold proceeds to criticize Cicero for positing a positive conclusion in what Manegold then takes to be the second-figure syllogism, which always has a negative conclusion.

> He calls the proposition the BASIS OF THE ARGUMENT in two ways, either as the major premise according to Boethius, or because the other parts of the argument proceed from it: THINGS THAT ARE DONE BY DESIGN, etc., and he starts exemplifying how some people have said that the argument should have five parts. The first premise is there: THINGS THAT ARE DONE BY DESIGN. The second premise is here: OF ALL THINGS, NOTHING IS BETTER (GOVERNED THAN THE UNIVERSE), the conclusion comes later: THEREFORE THE UNIVERSE IS GOVERNED, etc.
>
> And we must know that this conclusion depends on the nature of the terms in the proposition, rather than due to the force of the propositions.[28] For in the second-figure syllogism the conclusion is not affirmative. But since he takes the premises to be alike, that is 'governed in a better way' and 'done by design', for the

---

[28] Which is Victorinus's contention here, *uis propositionis*: cf. Victorinus, *Explanationum in Rhetoricam M.T. Ciceronis Libri Duo*, in *Rhetores latini minores*, ed. by Karl Halm (Leipzig: Teubner, 1863), p. 244; Gaius Marius Victorinus, *Explanationes in Ciceronis Rhetoricam*, ed. by A. Ippolito, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 132 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 156.55; Boethius, *De syllogismo hypothetico*, in *PL*, LXIV, col. 832C.

> universe is looked after better than anything else, the conclusion is excellent that the universe is governed by design.
>
> But a good first-figure syllogism can be provided, if the proposition is understood thus: Everything that is well looked after is governed by design. Then the second premise: But the universe is well looked after. *Therefore*, the universe is run according to design. And, accordingly, the topic for argument is (here) a topic from the whole to the parts. It could also be from (cause and) effect.[29]

I very much doubt that our modern teachers and students of rhetoric would have found such a discussion very informative or interesting, but back in Manegold's time, it must be borne in mind, very many students were not trained very deeply in mathematics or biology as they are now, but dialectically they were quite advanced and, unlike modern students, well initiated into syllogistic reasoning. So it is no surprise that this is not the only place where Manegold mentions the figures of the syllogism, even though he is well aware that such intrusions from dialectic are not what Cicero himself would have wanted at all:

> He wants to go on to the counter-argument. [...] But since the objection could be raised that he has not said all that is to be said, because he has not discussed the figures of the syllogisms and how many kinds there are of these in each figure of the syllogism, he replies that this topic has nothing to do with this art (of rhetoric), and he has (deliberately) omitted it, but not out of ignorance.[30]

So Manegold is keen to point out that Cicero's choices might not be those of the eleventh century, but that Cicero all the same knew his logic, and, had he wanted to discuss the figures of the syllogism, he could easily have done so. For Cicero, in the mind of an eleventh-century teacher, contributed significantly to logic, being the author of the dialectical manual *Topica* which is discussed in Boethius's *De topicis differentiis* and accompanied by a well-worn commentary composed by the same Boethius.

---

[29] MS K fols 28^{v}–29^{r}, MS H fol. 12^{v}, *In De inv.* 1.34.58–59: 'SUMMAM ARGUMENTACIONIS uocat proposicionem duobus modis, uel quia maior extremitas in ea secundum Boecium continetur, uel quia cetere partes argumentacionis ab ea procedunt: MELIUS ACCURANTUR QUE CONSILIO GERUNTUR, etc. ingreditur exemplificare quomodo quidam sillogismum quinque partes habere dixerunt. [...] propositio: MELIUS ACCURANTUR, etc. Assumpcio autem est ubi dicit: (1.34.59) NICHIL OMNIUM, etc., conclusio uero postea sequitur: CONSILIO IGITUR MUNDUS, etc. Et sciendum quod hec conclusio potius fit ex natura terminorum quam ex VI PROPOSICIONUM. Non enim in secunda figura /fol. 29^{r}/ concluditur affirmatiue. Sed ipsa paria accipit "Melius accurari, et 'consilio geri'"[...] mundus melius omnibus accuratur, bene tamen concludit: Mundus igitur consilio administratur. Potest etiam in prima figura bonus fieri sillogismus, si proposicio sic intelligatur: Omnia quae bene administrantur consilio geruntur. (=All M are P.) Deinde assumptio hoc modo: Sed mundus bene accuratur. (=S is M.) Mundus igitur consilio geritur. (=S is P.) Et secundum hoc est locus a toto. Potest etiam esse ab effectu.'

[30] MS K fol. 32^{r}, MS H fol. 14^{r}, *In De inv.* 1.41.77: 'Vult transire ad reprehensionem. [...] At quia aliquis posset obicere (obicere] *om.* H) non satis neque ad plenum dictum esse, quia non dixit quae sint syllogismorum figure et quot modi in unaquaque figura, respondet non ex ignorancia se illud preterisse, sed quia ad hanc artem non pertinere.'

The Platonizing Rhetoric

What is significant in Manegold's commentary, apart from being a rather solid piece of preceptive rhetoric, is its provocative Platonic tenets. Irene Caiazzo talks here about a 'platonisme rhetorique' *on par* with the 'platonisme grammaticale' that concerns contemporary Priscian commentaries.[31]

Behind this Platonism lies obviously the influence of Marius Victorinus, but also Boethius, who in *De topicis differentiis* Book IV had talked about Aristotle's three *genera* (lawsuits, political, and epideictic speeches) as forms superimposed on a vague and unformed subject matter.[32] The 'moulding' or information-process starts with the three *genera*. However, aided by a later section in Book II of the *De inventione*, Manegold takes the matter further than that and 'moulds' the lawsuits, political, and epideictic genres further by choosing specific arguments that suit the individual four *status*, that is, the conjectural, definitive, general, and translative *status*/issues, as can be seen here below where he calls the rhetorical case (*causa*) an informed matter (*materia*) receiving different forms:

> Here (rhetorical) invention is understood according to the subject matter, that is as to envisage his as yet unformed theme, which is the subject matter of a disputed case, and then delineate the rhetorical dispute, by which he'll know how that dispute fits that case, that is whether it is a judicial speech before the court, an epideictic, or a political speech. Thereafter, since every single one of these three rhetorical genres has subdivisions into the specific *status* of applying it to the conjectural case, or a case of definition, a case depending on specific legal procedures, or depending on the general quality of the case, the speaker must know how to find arguments suitable to his theme, and in this manner invention is understood as depending on the subject matter (for a given speech).[33]

---

[31] Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*', p. 339.

[32] Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*, in *PL*, LXIV, col. 1207.

[33] MS K fol. 10^{r}, MS H fol. 4^{v}, *In De inv.* I.7.9: 'Hic autem accipitur inuencio quantum ad materiam, scilicet ut ipsum thema, quod est materia questionis, sciat inuenire et questionem

What triggers this discussion of how to 'mould' an unformed case into a particular type of rhetorical speech is the eleventh-century concern of Manegold and his student William that the Aristotelian rhetorical genres should be (logically speaking) real *genera*, in the same manner as the species Man belongs to the genus Animal, whereas the *status* or issues should be real *species* — as in another subdivision of rhetorical cases according to the focus of main arguments. In this subdivision, cases are subdivided into *constitutiones* or 'issues', which focus on whether the client or main person in the case did or did not do the deed (*an sit / coniecturalis*); or where the speaker's focus is on defining exactly what he did (*quid sit / definitiua*); or where the focus is on the circumstances pertaining to the deed (*quale sit / qualitatis*); to which Cicero added a fourth, a procedural one, *constitutio translatiua*. Manegold's and William's argumentation hinges on Cicero's criticism in *De inventione* Book I of Hermagoras confusing the three oratorical genres, the political, the legal, and the epideictic speeches (*genera*), with the subdivision into these four *constitutiones* also called *status*.[34]

> It must be known that whatever is, by nature, less individualized and more universal, is philosophically said to be of a higher nature. Hence a (rhetorical) case, i.e. a rhetorical dispute, is first and foremost divided into the political, epideictic, and judicial genres. And every single one of these three genres is 'moulded' (= informed) and given shape by the four rhetorical types of *status* and subdivided into one of these foci.[35]

---

inde formare, hoc inuento sciat inuenire in quam causam questio illa cadat, scilicet an sit iudicialis aut demonstratiua uel deliberatiua. Deinde, cum unaquaque harum trium habeat sub se quattuor speciales constitutiones: coniecturalem, diffinitiuam, translatiuam, generalem, sciat inuenire in quam harum cadat, quod pertinet ad materiam.'

[34] Anton D. Leemann, 'Rhetorical Status in Horace, *Serm*. 2.1', in *Rhetoric Revalued: Papers from the International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, ed. by Brian Vickers, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 19 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), pp. 159–63 (p. 161) gives the following, useful examples: *Status coniecturalis*, *definitionis*, or *qualitatis*, the three statuses in descending order of strength: the client has not done the deed (e.g. murder) he is accused of (*coniecturalis*); or he has done the deed, but it falls under a different definition (murder of a traitor, *definitionis*); or he has done the deed, but he had more or less good reasons for it (e.g. murder in self-defense or other extenuating circumstances, *qualitatis*).

[35] MS K fol. 11^{r}, MS H fol. 5^{r}, *In De inv.* I.9.12: 'Sciendum est quod naturaliter quae pauciora sunt et uniuersaliora principaliter superiora dicuntur (diuidunt K H). Unde constat quod causa id est rethorica questio primo loco per deliberatiuum (liberatiuum K), demonstratiuum et iudiciale diuiditur. Quorum trium unumquodque quatuor constitutionibus *informatur* (infirmatur K) et diuiditur.'

As is very common in commentaries on the classical authors of this period, Manegold here takes sides and defends his authority Cicero against his opponent Hermagoras, pointing out that Cicero wants the *causa* to be a higher-order concept than the *status*:

> A (rhetorical) case (*causa*) is, in itself, without delineation and specification whatsoever, unless one of the rhetorical *status*, be it conjectural, or concerned with definition or otherwise, is superimposed in order to specify the genre, which by itself intrinsically is undetermined, and is without distinguishable features, and this is why he says, 'that the (*status* or) issue is nothing but a subhead of argument (*accommodantur*), making it suitable in the process'.[36]

It was in fact Cicero himself who, in Book II, had added impetus to this interpretation by using exactly the words *genere* and *forma* for the three *genera* (political, judicial, and epideictic genres) and the four *status* respectively. In commenting on this passage in Book II, Manegold tries hard to explain how these subdivisions/forms/*species* stand in relationship to the broader subdivision into the three political, judicial, epideictic genres and how, therefore, the conjectural *status* or issue necessarily has multiple and equivocal signification in itself, but when it covers the conjectural issue specified into being used in a judicial, political, or epideictic speech, the focus is on conjectural argumentation and it is no longer opaque but signifies specifically and precisely:

> Whoever knows the nature of the (rhetorical) cases, will understand that they differ, genrewise in the first place, and thus <+++>, and secondly they differ by their forms by which they are specified, namely the other specifications, that is their four different *status* or issues, into which each of them is subdivided. [...] You must note that the word *conjectural* has more than one meaning. For *conjectural* does not signify the same nature in every speech where it is found, because in the conjectural lawsuit it signifies one thing, in the political conjectural speech something else, and in the epideictic yet another matter.[37]

---

[36] MS K fol. 11ᵛ, MS H fol. 5ʳ, *In De inv.* I.10.13: 'Causa namque per se informis est, nisi postquam \uel/ coniecturalis uel diffinitiua uel aliqua constitutionum accedit ad determinandum genus quod per se fuit incertum et confusum, et sic ACCOM<M>ODANTUR causae id est quiddam commodum ei faciunt.'

[37] MS H fol. 25ʳ, *In De inv.* II.37.110: 'QUI DILIGENTER COGNOVIT VIM ET NATURAM CAUSARUM, INTELLIGET EAS DISSIDERE a se, TUM GENERE primo et prima uarietate, ideo quod scilicet <+++>, TUM FORMA et per formas ipsas quibus proprie informantur. CETERIS AUTEM PARTIBUS id est in constitutionibus quattuor quibus unaqueque earum partitur. [...] Notandum est quod hoc uocabulum coniectura equiuocum est. Non enim significat unam

Manegold's student, William (of Champeaux?), has the same doctrine and juxtaposes Manegold's opinion with the less rigid view of master Anselm, whom William, time and again, sets up against Manegold's penchant for classifications and subdivisions:[38]

> IN GENRE FIRST, that is on the one hand, IN FORM. The GENUS or GENRE according to master Anselm is the end that the case is intended to reach, which is its primary nature according to division into genres. The FORM he calls the proper manner of procedure which it achieves from its intended end. For a rhetorical case is handled differently according to aiming towards goodness, and is dealt with in another manner when the end is usefulness.
>
> According to master Manegold, they differ by GENUS, implying that is that one case is treated as a lawsuit, another as a political speech. And they differ by FORM, that is according to the *status* or issues. For these three *genera* that by themselves are formless receive their respective forms in the different *status* or issues, and accordingly they intend to reach different ends, and they differ formally. For the lawsuit is shaped formally when it according to a specific *status* intends to reach the end of justice (or injustice), which is not the case in the other genres (*viz.* political or epideictic speeches).[39]

So a *genus* and a *forma* will also in rhetoric be treated by some rhetoricians as subjected to the precise dialectical connotations of these words, whereas other masters, like Anselm, were keen not to impose any such dialectical considerations or intrusions. It is here significant that William went even further than Manegold, philosophically, since William introduced into his rhetoric course the words 'a universal thing', *res universalis*, for the matter receiving these forms.

naturam in omnibus, quia aliud significat in coniectura iudiciali, aliud in deliberatiua, alud in demonstratiua.'

[38] I give the text in full since only Anselm was quoted in Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione*', p. 14.

[39] William, MS Y, fol. 41bis^{v}b, *De inv.* II.37.110: 'GENERE tum, id est ex altera parte, FORMA. GENUS secundum magistrum Ansel<mum> dicitur finis ad quem tendit causa, quia ipse est principalis natura per quam diversum <fit> genus in causa. FORMAM vocat proprietatem quandam agendi quam ex fine recipit. Alio enim modo agitur secundum finem recti, alio secundum finem utilis. Secundum magistrum Menegaldum, sic differunt GENERE, quia aliud genus est iudiciale, aliud deliberativum, et FORMA, id est, constitutionibus. Illa enim tria quasi informia formantur in constitutionibus et ita ad suos fines tendunt et sic differunt forma. Iudicialis enim forma est cum in aliqua constitutione tendit ad iustum vel iniustum quod numquam alia faciunt.'

For William contended that the deliberative genre, a universal thing (*res universalis*), may easily adopt the conjectural *status* to make such a case, and, moreover, the same universal thing would adopt the other *status*.[40]

> The different rhetorical issues or *status* cannot be merged into one (*status*), but a political case, which is a universal thing, may be subsumed by and specified as a conjectural handling of the case to make such a case, and, again, the same universal thing, that is a political case, may be subsumed and specified into a matter of definition of the case in order to make a different speech, and a general *status* to make yet another kind of speech, or a matter of legal procedure in yet another. Accordingly, the same universal thing may be diversified because of the different *status*, but one *status* does not become specified into another *status* to make a speech, nor will one *status* accept several *status* and go together to make a collection of different, individual speeches.[41]

That the matter of a *genus* accepts the *forma* of the *species* is philosophically called 'material essence' theory by modern scholars, and it is exactly this point that provoked Abelard so much when he followed the course in rhetoric with William of Champeaux, as he tells himself in his autobiography, *Historia Calamitatum*.[42] To a non-realist philosopher like Abelard, a 'res universalis' was too much, and he proceeded to persecute his teacher with glee!

Was Manegold himself such a platonizing realist taking a stand against the Nominalists, or, as they are called at this period, the 'Vocalists'? We cannot know for certain, but a commentary on Horace's *Epistles* found in a manuscript, Lucca, Biblioteca statale, 1433 (from Germany), juxtaposes Manegold with one Arnulf, and it is here said that Manegold was an excellent teacher of the *Artes*, who kindled the jealousy of Arnulf into burning rage at his presence, just as 'Hercules (in Horace's poem) scorches his inferior opponents by his merits'.

---

[40] Text in Fredborg, 'Petrus Helias's *Summa*', pp. 146–47, n. 31.

[41] William, MS Y, fol. 9^{v}b, *In De inv.* I.10.13: 'Itaque diuerse constitutiones non possunt se pati in eodem inferiori, sed deliberatio *res uniuersalis* bene suscipit coniecturalem constitutionem ad eandem causam faciendam, et iterum eadem *res uniuersalis*, scilicet deliberatio, suscipit definitiuam ad aliam causam faciendam, et eadem generalem in alio inferiori, eadem translatiuam in alio inferiori. Itaque eadem res suscipit omnes constitutiones, sed una constitutio non suscipit aliam constitutionem ad unam causam faciendam nec una plures ad plures causas indiuiduales faciendas.'

[42] John O. Ward with Karin Margareta Fredborg, 'Rhetoric in the Time of William of Champeaux', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 219–33 (p. 221); John Marenbon, 'Life, Milieu, and Intellectual Contexts', in *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard*, ed. by Jeffrey E. Brower and Kevin Guilfoy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 13–44.

> WHO DEPRESSES THE MERITS OF OTHERS WHO ARE INFERIOR TO HIMSELF, BLASTS THEM WITH HIS OWN BRILLIANCY that is by his presence, in the same manner as Master Manegold who is an excellent teacher of the *Artes* above others would scorch Arnulf by his presence, so that he does not appear as grand as he wants to, and this makes him very envious.[43]

So, Manegold is a Hercules in the *Artes* and Arnulf an inferior contemporary! Now the only Arnolfus contemporary with Manegold, according to our sources, is probably Arnulf of Laon, the author of an anti-realist handbook in logic, written on the basis of Boethius's *De topicis differentiis*, and recently edited.[44] He was a so-called Vocalist, to whom the higher-order entities like *universalia*, like the *genera* and *species*, were terms and words (as the concept and word 'mammal' in a dictionary) and not *res* or things of this world at all. Our Manegold the rhetorician, faithful to the Platonic sides of Boethius and Victorinus, appears a likely antagonist to a Vocalist logician, and, to my mind, the point made by this Horace commentator that Manegold was famous in the *Artes* is a good indication that our Manegold not only was versatile in rhetoric, but also taught theoretical grammar and the classical authors, and dialectic as well. It is therefore worthwhile not only to study his rhetoric in detail but to look for more texts in these areas which match the character of the learned Manegold the rhetorician. The studies of Irene Caiazzo on Manegold and his contributions to an anonymous commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, those of John O. Ward on his rhetoric, and, not in the least, Robert Ziomkowski's study and translation of Manegold's *Liber contra Wolfhelmum* have been significant in helping us to understand better the details of what was considered rewarding, necessary, and permissible for a Christian readership and what was not, because this political pamphlet, *Liber contra Wolfhelmum*, clearly explicates the level of acquaintance with the pagan philosophers and highlights in detail the watershed between revealed truth and secular learning as touched upon in the beginning of this paper. In the same way, it is very important that we are now, finally, promised an edition of Manegold's influential and thorough rhetorical commentaries, after we first learned a little about his rhetoric from Mary Dickey half a century ago. The invaluable work on medieval *dictamen* by Martin Camargo has amply shown that only by editorial work, careful dating, and a lifetime's sifting of the main sources of medieval composition can real progress be made. We therefore most warmly welcome the promised edition of Manegold's rhetoric by Prof. Filippo Bognini.

---

[43] '*Incipit Liber Epistolarum*', Lucca, Bib. Statale, MS 1433, fol. 38^{r}, *Ep.* II.1.13: 'QUI PREGRAVAT ARTES id est qui pre aliis et graues et excellentes facit artes, URIT INFRA SE POSITOS id est inferiores se, coartat ne tanti precii uideantur, FULGORE SUO id est presentia sua, sicut magister Monogaldus, qui excellentes facit artes, pre aliis ureret Arnolfum presentia sua, ne tanti uideretur quanti habetur, et inuideret illi iste.'

[44] Arnulf of Laon is mentioned in company with the late eleventh-century teachers Robert of Paris and Roscelin as one of the Vocalists and followers of John ('sectatores Ioannis'); in the same text, *Histoirae Franciae fragmentum, a Roberto ad mortem Philippi I.Regis*, Manegold the German is mentioned as his contemporary; see Caiazzo, 'Manegold, *modernorum magister magistrorum*', p. 318; Arnulf's commentary to Boethius's *De topicis differentiis* (B3) has been edited in Heine Hansen, 'An Early Commentary on Boethius' Topics', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*, 76 (2005), 45–130, and discussed by John Marenbon, 'Logic at the Turn of the Twelfth Century: A Synthesis', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 181–217 (p. 203); Heine Hansen, '*In Voce / In Re* in a Late XIth Century Commentary on Boethius' Topics', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 663–76; and Sten Ebbesen, 'An Argument is a Soul', in *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles*, ed. by Rosier-Catach, pp. 695–708.

‘IRONICAL CENSORS OF ALL’: THOMAS NASHE AND THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARY TRADITION

John Pendergast

In his thorough discussion of the *accessus* tradition in *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, A. J. Minnis outlines the various types of prologues, or *accessus*, which were popular in the later Middle Ages.[1] Traditionally, these prologues were examinations of literary works according to how the narrative and structural elements were constituent parts of the work’s intended meaning. Walter Benjamin notes that such materials, including prologues, provided ‘an elaborate surrounding framework to the larger editions and the collected works. For it was only rarely that the eye was able to find satisfaction in the object itself’.[2] Originating as introductions to glosses or textual commentaries, these prologues traditionally situated the work in a ‘hierarchy of ultimate goals and goods’, to use Minnis’s description, by examining the various Aristotelian causes for a given *auctoritas*, or literary work. The four causes, the formal (method of treatment or organization of the work), the material (the specific literary materials used as sources for the writer), the efficient (the person who wrote the

---

[1] Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 28.

[2] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. by John Osborne (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1963), p. 181.

John Pendergast is Professor of Literature at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. He is author of *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy in Early Modern England, 1560–1640: The Control of the Word* (2006). He has published articles on early modern rhetoric and drama in *Studies in Philology*, *ELH*, and *English Literary Renaissance*.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 65–80 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107449

work), and the final (the ultimate justification for the existence of the work), can be best understood according to Aquinas's example of a statue in which the formal cause is its shape or proportions and organization of its various parts, its material cause being the bronze from which it is made, its efficient cause being the artist or craftsman, and its final cause being the artist's reason for making it. *Accessus* functioned as public declarations of literary intention, insuring that a given work was in line with orthodoxy and the aims of a pedagogically normative aesthetic.

Thomas Nashe's 'Preface' to Robert Greene's prose romance *Menaphon* is such a public act, providing a scholarly perspective to a romance, a genre which was likely unsatisfying in and of itself to Nashe and many early modern readers. Addressed to the 'Gentlemen Students of Both Universities', Nashe's 'Preface' takes the form of an epistle introducing and providing a 'surrounding framework' to Greene's text. In doing so, Nashe interrogates the goals and ends not only of Greene's text but also of all contemporary literature, utilizing, I would argue, many of the heuristics of the early *accessus* tradition. The 'Preface' ultimately serves as a tribute to an earlier literary and aesthetic tradition, and its existence is a testament to the early modern tradition of affixing prefaces to printed texts to aid them in finding a proper readership; to this extent, Nashe's preface is typical in its emphasis on the state of contemporary letters but, I would argue, atypical in its cynicism for the material conditions of its own creation.

The early modern period saw a proliferation of paratextual prefaces and epistles; they were an essential component of early modern literary culture. Nashe's 'Preface' fashions a deeper appreciation for the persistence of the earlier genre of the *accessus* and the production of literary texts in the early modern period. What the *accessus* tradition became for Nashe was an opportunity to place Greene's work into a formally defined disciplinary context, one which demarcated its practical purpose and intent. In making my argument it is important to note that Nashe's intentions were to comment on broad cultural issues of textual production, to appropriate the *accessus*'s rhetorical function as a way of commenting on just how far his culture had deviated from the medieval ideal. By mockingly appropriating an authoritative interpretive voice, Nashe creates an ironic persistence of tradition which simultaneously revolutionizes and seems, superficially, to undermine the tradition which he ultimately reaffirms in the form of satire or parody.

The early modern fashion for paratextual epistles is itself a reflection of a medieval habit of mind; their role in conferring authority and stabilizing the interpretative possibilities of texts is undeniable. The explanatory and apologetic tone of prefatory epistles links them to a long tradition of European humanist and hermeneutical culture. The prefatory material situates an author's 'relation' to sanctioned Truth and protects 'against misinterpretation and guides the reader in profitable instruction',[3] a tradition very much alive in the early modern period. Both of these attributes remind us of the genre's relationship to humanism, at least 'humanism' defined as a veneration of classical authorities, pedagogical exactness, and the use of traditional classification taxonomies.[4]

As a prologue to a literary text, Nashe's 'Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*' suggests the medieval *accessus* tradition in that it performs two functions: it lends authority or legitimacy to a work of literature, and it suggests that the work is not contrary to an explicit set of ethics and cultural values.[5] While the tradition started with commentators of Horace and Virgil, it was later appropriated to introduce living writers; Nashe, on the other hand, takes his opportunity to denounce much of the literary world for its adherence to questionable motivations and lax execution of medieval standards. I would argue thusly that the 'Preface' reflects Nashe's life-long distrust of academic pretense and serves as a harsh condemnation of bad educational and literary practices. While early modern texts were commonly prefaced with epistles from publishers or authors, Nashe's 'Preface' is far more elaborate as a critical work and thus deserves special attention. Nashe's 'Preface' is also a somewhat strange and generically confusing text. As a preface it does not exclusively discuss Greene's text; seemingly preoccupied with criticizing his contemporaries for 'their two penny pamphlets' and 'home born mediocrity',[6] Nashe lambasts a societal ignorance of Latin and an overreliance on Italian models. But in the process Nashe reflects the persistence of the medieval *accessus* tradition by having his 'Preface' serve as a commentary on the apparatus of publication and textual dissemination.

Whereas A. J. Minnis considers the *accessus* tradition a medieval one, he rightly notes that absolute boundaries in regards to the tradition are not precise. In a 2003 essay Minnis questioned why there were so few vernacular hermeneutical texts written in England in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.[7] The answer for Minnis was that in England the 'orthodox promotion of a transfer of learning and power was performed in Latin while the promotion of orthodoxy in the vernacular was tainted with heresy'.[8] As a result, he writes: '[after the early sixteenth century] little of relevance seemed to occur in either Scotland or England until "E. K." produced his glosses on Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579)'.[9] In his survey of the commentary tradition Minnis notes that

---

[3] Robert Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 11.

[4] For more on the paratextual epistolary tradition, see John Pendergast, '"Comedies for Commodities": Genre and Early Modern Dramatic Epistles', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38.3 (2008), 483–505.

[5] All references are to Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958).

[6] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 316.

> the picture is complicated by the fact that the decline of Dante's critical fortunes coincided with a rise of Petrarch's. Ten major commentaries on the latter's works were published between 1476 and 1582. However, even Petrarch's commentary was put in the shade by the extraordinary body of sixteenth-century exposition of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. In short, there is no smooth transition from medieval to Renaissance, with an early fourteenth-century flowering of criticism on vernacular poetry anticipating a spring full of burgeoning varieties of vernacular poetry and prose.

These anxieties about the role of the vernacular persisted well into the sixteenth century, well after questions of heresy and religious orthodoxy had ceased to be dominating influences.[10] These 'varieties of vernacular poetry and prose' created new anxieties for sixteenth-century writers and critics concerned about changing concepts of authorship and readership and the new modes of textual dissemination and commodification.

Nashe's 'Preface' affords something of an answer to Minnis's question, at least one relevant for the sixteenth century, and helps to illustrate the rough transition from medieval to early modern. While Minnis mentions the glosses to Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar* as the rare example of an English vernacular hermeneutic text, he neglects to mention the more obvious prefatory letter to Walter Raleigh, appended to the 1589 printing of *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser's letter is typical of the *accessus* tradition in that he set out to use allegorical readings of his text to affirm that his lessons were always moral and in line with Christian beliefs; the tradition was appropriated by Edmund Spenser (unlike Nashe, in a highly non-ironic manner) to suggest that his poem was in line with both Christian beliefs and courtly decorum. Spenser provided his audience with a guide to understanding how to properly read his poem; further, the letter reflected the humanistic/pedagogical tradition.

---

[7] Alastair J. Minnis, 'Absent Glosses: A Crisis of Vernacular Commentary in Late-Medieval England', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20 (2003), 1–17.

[8] Minnis, 'Absent Glosses', p. 12.

[9] Minnis, 'Absent Glosses', p. 1.

[10] Minnis notes that a major influence in the demise of medieval glosses, translations, and critical commentary was the lack of patronage and 'once the discourses move from Latin into the vernaculars, other interpretive communities have to want them and pay for them' (Minnis, 'Absent Glosses', p. 5) and that in fifteenth-century England there was little interest in promoting vernacular hermeneutics. It is just this change in dissemination practices which Nashe charts in his 'Preface'.

Even a quick glance at Spenser's 'Letter to Raleigh' suggests how relevant the *accessus* could be to sixteenth-century literary endeavours. Although there were several types of prologues in use well into the Renaissance, the type which has the most direct relevance to Spenser's 'Letter' would be the 'Aristotelian' and the earlier 'type C' prologue from which it developed.[11] For example, the letter's opening reference to the poem's title and its definition as a 'continued Allegory, or darke conceit' categorize the poem's material cause, and Spenser's desire 'to discover unto you the general intention and meaning [...] without expressing of any particular purposes or by-accidents therein occasioned' reflects a general Aristotelian logical breakdown and analysis of the topic. Spenser makes it clear that the true final cause is praise for Queen Elizabeth: 'In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my general intention, but in my particular I conceiue the most excellent and glorious person of our soueraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery land. And yet in some places els I do otherwise shadow her'.[12] It is here, in considering the final cause of the *Faerie Queene*, that we can see the true significance of the *accessus* model. The purpose of an *accessus* was to make it clear that nothing in the text was contrary to Christian faith; in the case of the *Faerie Queene*, the purpose behind the 'Letter to Raleigh' is to make it clear that nothing, not even the poem's structure and material, is contrary to the proper praise of Queen Elizabeth, and that all aspects of the poem are subordinate to her, including the 'bi-accidents' of characterization.

While Nashe is far less concerned about 'particular purposes or by-accidents', he is, like Spenser, concerned with the traditional function of ethical exegesis; that is, he attempts to place Greene's work into a formally defined disciplinary context, one which defines its ethical purpose and intent. This ethical purpose can be summarized by the following from early in the 'Preface':

---

[11] John Pendergast, 'Christian Allegory and Spenser's "General Intention"', *Studies in Philology*, 93.3 (1996), 267–87.

[12] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki, rev. 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2006), p. 15.

> Indeede, I must needes say the descending yeares from the Philosophers *Athens* haue not been supplied with such present Orators as were able in anie English vaine to be eloquent of their owne, but either they must borrow inuention of *Ariosto* and his Countreymen, take vp choyce of words by exchange in Tullies Tusculane and the Latine Historiographers store-houses.[13]

For Nashe, the material cause, that is, the borrowings which made up much of the literature of his contemporaries, was an ethical issue; knowing from whom and what to borrow was not only a matter of taste, but it also defined one's worth as a writer: it granted the right to write and conferred an enormous responsibility on the borrower to make good on the promise of the classical sources. In this way many of Nashe's contemporaries were unethical; many 'Orators' (Nashe almost universally used this term in reference to his contemporaries in a sarcastic and parodic manner) turned to Latin and Greek sources to make up for a deficiency in their own eloquence or learning. Greek and Latin sources were treated as 'store-houses' of wit, not as part of a living and viable tradition. As a result, such borrowings did not bestow a sense of orthodoxy and did not lend credibility to those who used them. Nashe was very aware that it was through the act of borrowing that early modern writers reaffirmed their cultural position. For this reason, writing was first and foremost an ethical practice, which, with its didactic and polemic ends, conferred enormous responsibility on writers:

> How is it then such bungling practitioners in principles should ever profit the commonwealth by their negligent pains, who have no more cunning in logic or dialogue Latin than appertains to the literal construction of either? Nevertheless, it is daily apparent to our domestical eyes that there is none so forward to publish their imperfections, either in the trade of gloze or translations, as those that are more unlearned than ignorance, and less conceiving than infants.[14]

Legitimate final causes were undermined by a dependence on half-understood *materia* and a reliance on literal constructions. The resulting 'bungling' and 'ignorance' were, for Nashe, the reasons for the vacuous nature of the early modern 'trade of gloze [and] translation'. In the case of 'The Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*', the emphasis on the material and efficient causes illustrates how Nashe, a conservative in matters of literature and scholarship, was nostalgic for the ideals of medieval aesthetics.

---

[13] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 313.

[14] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 313.

While Nashe avoids precise deductive Aristotelian language, he is nonetheless preoccupied with understanding the relevance of such causes to modern letters. While Spenser situated the ethical core of writing at the court, Nashe replaces the court with Cambridge, with the intention of creating a scathing indictment of modern letters. Cambridge was as much a hermeneutical method as a place, one which afforded Nashe much of the subject matter and many of the ethical stances he would take throughout his career, railing at educated hypocrites, misusers of Latin, the privileged underachievers and unprivileged overachievers who populated his world.

So complex is Thomas Nashe's relationship to early modern epistemological standards and methods of dissemination that he simultaneously resists and exemplifies many of the social structures which allow his writing to be read. For example, in the following commentary on his alma mater, Cambridge, Nashe writes in his 'Preface':

> Again, Cambridge; I will not deny but in scholarlike matters of controversy a quicker style may pass as commendable, and that a quip to an ass is as good as a goad to an ox, but when the irregular idiot that was up to the ears in divinity before ever he met with probabile in the university shall leave pro & contra before he can scarcely pronounce it, and come to correct commonweals that never heard of the name of magistrate before he came to Cambridge.[15]

Irony is a palpable attribute for Nashe; here Nashe bemoans those who would 'correct commonweals' with little formal education and training; the kind of 'quicker style' which characterizes these usurpers is the same style which characterizes Nashe's often improvisational musings (seen in the phrase 'a quip to an ass is as good as a goad to an ox'). On the one hand, writers should proceed only with the imprimatur of a university education; on the other, such an education could not guarantee acceptable discourse or 'discovery'. In an era when writing blank verse was one prerequisite for admittance into literary society and imitation was a sign of linguistic professionalism, Nashe would write in the 'Preface' that 'I cannot so fully bequeath them to folly as their idiot art-masters, that intrude themselves to our ears as the alchemists of eloquence, who (mounted on the stage of arrogance) think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse'.[16] Such charges of presumptiveness were leveled at Nashe by Richard and Gabriel Harvey and were, in turn, leveled at many of Nashe's contemporaries by Nashe himself. Behind such charges were Nashe's extremely high standards of Latin competency and command of classical *materia*.

---

[15] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 315.

[16] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 311.

For Nashe, Cambridge represented the pinnacle of humanistic pursuit and produced the kind of ethical foundation sorely absent in much contemporary discourse. In his 'Preface,' Nashe notes as commendable the writers Sir Thomas Elyot, Sir Thomas More, and 'the famous and most fortunate nurse of all learning, Saint John's in Cambridge', as well as 'the exchequer of eloquence, Sir John Cheke, a man of men, supernaturally traded in all tongues, Sir John Mason, Doctor Watson, Redman, Ascham, Grindal [...] all which have, either by their private readings or public works, repurged the errors of art expelled from their purity, and set before our eyes a more perfect method of study'.[17] Writing is the result of a purified 'method of study', and the learned products of St John's serve, or should serve, as authorities over what Nashe figuratively considers, through the metaphor of an 'exchequer', the limited distribution of eloquence. The analogy between finances and eloquence was a dominant one in Nashe's work and served to highlight the ironic and unfortunate juxtaposition of literature's materiality, in the sense of both its use of *materia* and its objective commodification, a juxtaposition which undermined the purity and rigour of literary pursuits.

It is when Nashe turns his attention to the material and efficient causes that his values are revealed to be truly 'medieval'; Nashe spends more time lambasting his fellow writers for their lack of historical awareness and classical language than he does for their lack of a final cause. In the following, often-cited passage from the 'Preface', Nashe simultaneously references both the material and efficient causes when he laments that many of his contemporaries can 'scarcely Latinize their neck-verse if they should have need; yet English Seneca read by candlelight yields many good sentences, as Blood is a beggar, and so forth, and if you entreat him fair in a frosty morning, he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfuls, of tragical speeches'. An 'English Seneca' is one already appropriated from the Latin, already commodified and therefore disconnected from the authority of tradition. The result of such a commodification is that the plenitude afforded by the Latin tradition inevitably becomes a limited resource. Eventually, the supply of Senecan adages will dry up, and Nashe's contemporaries, incapable of eloquence on their own, will 'famish':

---

[17] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 317.

> But O grief! *Tempus edax rerum*, what's that will last always? The sea exhaled by drops will in continuance be dry, and Seneca, let blood line by line and page by page, at length must needs die to our stage, which makes his famished followers to imitate the kid in Aesop, who, enamoured with the fox's newfangles, forsook all hopes of life to leap into a new occupation, and these men, renouncing all possibilities of credit or estimation, to intermeddle with Italian translations, wherein how poorly they have plodded (as those that are neither Provencal men, nor are able to distinguish of articles), let all indifferent gentlemen that have travailed in that tongue discern by their twopenny pamphlets.[18]

With the supply of Latin sources depleted, Nashe's contemporaries turn to Italian sources for their inspiration. It is with this turn that a strong element of nationalism emerges in Nashe's treatment of the material cause; Nashe seemed to desire above all that England forge a vernacular identity all its own, one constructed from the best of traditional values and *materia*: 'And should the challenge of deep conceit be intruded by any foreigner to bring our English wits to the touchstone of art, I would prefer divine Master Spenser, the miracle of wit, to bandy line by line for my life in the honour of England against Spain, France, Italy and all the world'.[19] The complicated transition from medieval to 'modern' is a key concern for Nashe; while on the one hand he embraced the vernacular as a suitable material substitute for bad Latin and blind appropriation of Italian sources, he ultimately worshipped the good learning represented by solid knowledge of literary Latin. Such a transition also involved a complicated transition from Latin to English, a transition which threatened the very foundation of Nashe's aesthetic:

> Tush, say our English Italians, the finest wits our climate sends forth are but dry-brained dolts in comparison of other countries, whom, if you interrupt with *redde rationem*, they will tell you of Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano, with an infinite number of others, to whom, if I should oppose Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower [...] I do think their best lovers would be much discontented.[20]

Nashe imagines a debate where 'English Italians', who prefer Italian, a language which Nashe saw as an overly privileged vernacular, increasingly esteemed as a 'classical' language on par with Latin and Greek, are pitted against those who cherish English. Nashe creates a tension between not only ancient and modern, classical and vernacular, but also between continental vernaculars, most notably Italian and English. This tension creates a space where Nashe can fashion, or at least imagine, a new vernacular energized by a deep knowledge of Latin. As Minnis notes, the history of hermeneutical commentary must take into account how the 'discourses move from Latin into the vernaculars'.[21] In many ways, this movement could serve as a summary of the early modern period; it is vividly imagined by Nashe in the following from the 'Preface':

---

[18] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 315–16.

[19] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 323.

[20] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 322.

> I am not ignorant how eloquent our gowned age is grown of late, so that every mechanical mate abhorreth the English he was born to, and plucks, with a solemn periphrasis, his *ut vales* from the ink-horn, which I impute, not so much to the perfection of arts, as to the servile imitation of vainglorious tragedians, who contend not so seriously to excel in action as to embowel the clouds in a speech of comparison, thinking themselves more than initiated in poets' immortality if they but once get Boreas by the beard and the heavenly bull by the dewlap.[22]

To their detriment, many of Nashe's contemporaries were limited to the 'literal construction' of Latin. Nashe's ironic use of 'eloquent' is typical of his condemnation of 'mechanical' borrowings and translations which are used for the sole purpose of profiteering. True eloquence comes from a living Latin, from an aesthetic where the Latin *materia* is simultaneously classical and viable, as much the product of the modern world as of the classical. Later in the 'Preface' Nashe coins the phrase 'thrasonical huffe-snuffe' to illustrate the degradation Latin suffered from in the modern literary world.[23]

Primarily *accessus* were attempts at placing texts in a 'hierarchy of ultimate goals and goods'. At the pinnacle of such a hierarchy is the 'final cause', or the ultimate justification of the work's existence. For Nashe the 'final cause' was most often, unfortunately, the simple fact of the work's own existence — more precisely, the commodification of humanist practices which meant that writers seldom 'profit the commonwealth by their negligent pains'.[24] It is in his analysis of final causes that Nashe's irony is most evident. Writers write not for the sake of a common good, but merely to benefit their own financial gain. This commodification is not necessarily a bad thing; as he writes in the 'Preface', 'Oft have I observed what I now set down: a secular wit that hath lived all days of his life by *What do you lack?* to be more judicial in matters of conceit than our *quadrant crepundios*'.[25] However, in most cases, the modes of dissemination open to writers all but prohibited an ethical final cause. Nashe's career was outlandish, often defined, and in many ways limited, by his often contentious relationship to the most common modes of dissemination.[26] For example, the system of patronage was, for Nashe, an antiquated one: in his *Pierce Penniless* the Devil serves as a potential patron, and Nashe pens an appeal for patronage to him. For Nashe patronage was a medieval institution, one which he desired to 'modernize' by ironically appropriating it, calling for patronage while satirizing it. Nashe's 'ironic appropriation' differed from traditional satire or parody in that Nashe's emphasis was on the utility of what he satirized. As he writes in the *Unfortunate Traveler*, 'I know not what blinde custome methodicall antiquity hath thrust vpon vs, to dedicate such books as we publish to one great man or other',[27] yet, by searching for a patron, Nashe continuously confronted hierarchy and modern modes of dissemination and authorship.

---

[21] Minnis, 'Absent Glosses', p. 5.

[22] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 311.

[23] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 320.

[24] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 318.

While Nashe's aesthetics can seem unfocused or inconsistent when his texts are read outside the context of his entire career or when modern sensibilities about literary professionalism are introduced, Nashe is consistent when he condemns, on the one hand, 'twopenny pamphlets' and 'home-born mediocrity' and then seems to offer praise, on the other hand, for the new breed of young writers who, like Greene, profit in pamphlets and write romance such as Greene's *Menaphon*. Nashe's 'Preface' functions, ironically, as a form of patronage for Greene. The written word was both a means to subversion and a source of anxiety in that it afforded anyone the opportunity to disseminate ideas free from traditional constraints or responsibility to a justifiable final cause or ultimate justification for their existence.

When it came to marketing books, both his own and those of his contemporaries, Nashe expressed the same anxiety as he did with patronage. In the following passage from late in his 'Preface', Nashe simultaneously markets his own product while condemning the act of literary commodification:

> Read favourably to encourage me in the firstlings of my folly, and persuade yourselves I will persecute those idiots and their heirs unto the third generation, that

---

[25] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 314.

[26] On the frontispiece to *An Almond for a Parrot* (1590), Nashe writes: 'Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and are to be sold at this shoppe in Trouble-knave Stret, at the signe of the Standith'.

[27] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, II, 201.

> have made art bankrupt of her ornaments, and sent poetry a-begging up and down the country. It may be, my *Anatomy of Absurdities* may acquaint you ere long with my skill in surgery, wherein the diseases of art more merrily discovered may make our maimed poets put together their blanks unto the building of an hospital.[28]

Nashe manages to use his 'Preface' to Greene's text to advertise his own *Anatomy of Absurdities*, which would be published the following year, while 'exposing' the questionable practices of 'pamphleters and poets', which is the subject matter of both his 'Preface' and *Anatomy*. Art is bankrupt for it lacks the seriousness of cause which can only emerge from an art free of commodification, but such a freedom is impossible, and rather than striving for it, Nashe turns on a voice of exaggerated outrage, an outrage aimed both at himself and those he criticizes.

The command of Latin was the most important skill a writer could possess, and its lack provided Nashe with his greatest theme; for Nashe, the tension between the vernacular and Latin was a war between modernity and tradition. As Nashe writes in the 'Preface',

> To leave all these to the mercy of their mother tongue, that feed on naught but the crumbs that fall from the translator's trencher, I come (sweet friend) to thy Arcadian Menaphon, whose attire (though not so stately, yet comely) doth entitle thee above all other to that *temperatum dicendi* genus which Tully in his Orator termeth true eloquence. Let other men (as they please) praise the mountain that in seven years bringeth forth a mouse, or the Italianate pen that, of a packet of pilferies, affords the press a pamphlet or two in an age, and then, in disguised array, vaunts Ovid's and Plutarch's plumes as their own, but give me the man whose extemporal vein in any humour will excel our greatest artmasters' deliberate thoughts, whose inventions, quicker than his eye, will challenge the proudest rhetorician to the contention of like perfection with like expedition.[29]

This passage provides the only direct mention of the efficient cause of the work, Nashe's 'sweet friend' Greene, whose modest attire deems him truly eloquent. This passage suggests a rather obvious backhanded compliment to Greene, whose avoidance of mindless Latinate borrowings provides *Menaphon* with its 'true' eloquence. In many ways Greene represents the failure of the system Nashe is promoting in his 'Preface': Greene's *Menaphon* is a vernacular prose romance, a popular genre on the margin of literary acceptability. In his brief thirty-four years of life, Greene published approximately thirty pamphlets and half a dozen plays; as Nashe wrote of him three years later, in *Strange Newes*, Greene 'in a night & a day would he have yarkt up a Pamphlete as well as in seaven yeare, and glad was that Printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs of his wit'.[30] Throughout his career Nashe enumerated every vice possibly performed by the Harvey brothers; however, in the 'Preface' Nashe ignores the fact that Greene was a notorious drinker, womanizer, and overall mischief maker. Less than a year later, in his *Anatomy of Absurdity*, Nashe calls him the 'Homer of women', a phrase Nashe uses to describe Greene's inability to take a firm stand on the question of women's virtue. Within a year Nashe moves from promoting Greene as an exemplary writer deserving of emulation to a writer incapable of mounting a serious argument on a philosophical topic.[31] While he avoids extensive discussion of Thomas Greene as the specific efficient cause, he manages to question the qualifications of most of his contemporaries to be efficient causes due to their lack of learning and thus their inability to draw material from appropriate classical sources. Greene is given a pass only because he avoids the pretentiousness of his fellow writers, choosing instead to embrace an extemporal style.

---

[28] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 324.

[29] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 312. From *Unfortunate Traveler*: 'A most vaine thing it is in many vniuersities at this daye, that they count him excellent eloquent, who stealeth not whole phrases but whole pages out of Tully. If of a number of shreds of his sentences he can shape an oration, from all the world hee carries it awaie, although in truth it be no more than a fooles coat of many coulours' (ibid., II, 251).

As Spenser's 'Letter' and Nashe's 'Preface', as well as much of the early modern paratextual culture, suggest, the *accessus* tradition was in flux. For Nashe, satire was a way of revitalizing the lost tradition of medieval hermeneutics. As Martin Camargo argues in *Middle English Verse Love Epistle* and *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, generic definitions are never airtight; given the mixture of deductive and inductive strategies which go into writing a history of a genre it is sometimes necessary to consider genres as functions as well as forms.[32] Much as Camargo traces the historical development of the love epistle and *ars dictaminis*, noting the necessity of applying inductive as well as deductive strategies in order to comprehend the often 'fuzzy' borders of literary genres, I am interested in understanding the persistence of a medieval mode of commentary across the artificial and academic boundary of medieval and Renaissance periods. If we start with the deductive premise that Nashe is concerned with establishing a proper interpretive context and authority, then it is easier to see his 'Preface' as functioning as an *accessus*. Camargo's approach to understanding genre developments helps us to appreciate Nashe's habit of appropriating generic functions without full capitulation and acceptance of their earlier forms. Nashe's resistance to rigid models can also serve to mirror the process of generic modification and modernization: for Nashe, the function of paratextual tradition provided a mechanism by which to affirm the legacy of literature against a set of fixed ethical standards; Nashe's career as a writer, on the other hand, exemplified a writer constantly satirizing and 'modernizing' various genres (the scholarly diatribe and philosophical dialogue in *Have With You To Saffron-Walden*, the picaresque novel in *The Unfortunate Traveler*, the travel narrative in *Lenten Stuff*, the sermon in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*). It is in this spirit that his 'Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*' should be read.

---

[30] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, I, 286.

[31] For more on Nashe's comment, see Alex Davis, *Renaissance Historical Fiction: Sidney, Deloney, Nashe* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), p. 70.

[32] Martin Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, Studien zur Englischen Philologie, n.s. 28 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991); Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

Greene's and Nashe's improvisational and performative styles are facets of what Rita Copeland sees as part of the *accessus* tradition. The dichotomy Nashe creates between rhetoric and performance echoes the *accessus*'s tradition of privileging interpretive 'performance' over deliberate rhetoric. In Copeland's words, placing an *accessus* before a text makes the text 'an act delimited by circumstances'.[33] Copeland quotes Hans-Georg Gadamer in describing the alliance between rhetoric and interpretative hermeneutics:

> The reading and interpretation of what is written is so distanced and detached from its author — from his mood, intention, and unexpressed tendencies — that the grasping of meaning of the text takes on something of the character of an independent productive act, one that resembles more the art of the orator than the process of mere listening.[34]

As we saw above, 'Truth' is portrayed by Nashe in the 'Preface' as performative and 'extemporal'. By lending credibility to the text by appending a high-minded and learned preface, Nashe is performing a parodic act of authority.

---

[33] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 70.

[34] Qtd in Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, p. 70; Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'On the Scope and Function of Hermeneutical Reflection', in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, ed. and trans by David E. Linge (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 18–43 (p. 24).

Copeland continues: 'Thus, the exegete can take possession of the text as a discursive totality in the way that the *rhetor* (or orator) can grasp the case as a circumstantial totality'. When Nashe accuses his contemporaries who 'vaunt Ovid's and Plutarch's plumes as their own' he is acknowledging that much of his contemporary literature is interpretative in this sense (although not always successfully so). The commentary 'reinvents' the original text by differing from it, serving as a 'counter-text' in its parasitical relationship to the original.[35] This type of parasitical hermeneutics was a fascination of Nashe's and is ultimately one of the strongest arguments for seeing Nashe's 'Preface' as a type of *accessus*. His 'Preface' allowed Nashe to do what he did best: appropriate discourse to his own rhetorical end, turning the texts and authority of others into his own performance, thereby truly integrating texts in the creation of something new. Such a hermeneutics was more than catching 'the crumbs that fall from the translator's trencher'; it was a unique creative act which was simultaneously backward-looking and modern.

Nashe's 'Preface to Thomas Greene's *Menaphon*' served to introduce Nashe to his reading public; fresh from his education at Cambridge, Nashe's early work reveals a writer whose work was inseparable from his education. As he did in *The Anatomy of Absurdity*, written prior to the 'Preface' but not published until several months after it, Nashe wore his learning on his sleeve and used it as a weapon against his enemies and rivals. For Nashe vernacular literature lay in the hands of what he described in the 'Preface' as 'deep read schoolmen or grammarians', who had no more learning than necessary to 'take up a commoditie', yet who nonetheless assumed the role of 'ironicall Censors of all'.[36] Nashe strove to undermine these 'deep read schoolmen' by appropriating their authority as an outsider, yet an outsider who consistently reminded his readers that he was himself a deeply read graduate of Cambridge. This dichotomy played a central role in Nashe's work. Authority for Nashe meant a rigid ethical status which could only be conferred when writers read and emulated traditional texts. It was also important for writers to be good readers, a goal achieved with a firm grounding in more traditional, and, for Nashe, largely medieval reading and interpretative practices. Anything of aesthetic value could come about only as a result of a mastery of medieval aesthetic values.

Nashe 'apes' the conventions of *accessus* when he dwells on his essential question: where does literature come from and how does it remain tethered to a demonstrable tradition? What could be labeled as Nashe's 'conservatism' is found in his suspicions of strict imitation, as when he notes at the end of his 'Preface' that modern writers' methods of writing 'have succeeded to our rhetoricians by a second imitation, so that well may the adage *Nil dictum quod non dictum prius* be the most judicial estimate of our latter writers'. As is usually the case with Nashe, the ironies of this statement abound: Nashe relies upon a Latin adage, 'Nothing is said that has not been said before', to condemn his contemporaries for their lack of originality and 'second imitation', that is, rote appropriation of Latin. What has been lost in the modern world of commodified letters for Nashe is the ability to perform with the discretion afforded by proper education and practice: 'But the hunger of our unsatiate humorists being such as it is, ready to swallow all draff without difference that insinuates itself to their senses under the name of delights, employs oft-times many threadbare wits to empty their invention of their apish devices, and talk most superficially of policy, as those that never wore gown in the university'.[37] Truly viable and worthwhile performance occurs only with 'difference', but a difference afforded by proper education at university. As Copeland reminds us, medieval hermeneutics is a type of performance, a repetition with difference which offers, for Nashe, the only possibility for 'the sweet satiety of eloquence'.[38]

---

[35] Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, p. 76.

[36] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 312.

Nashe's 'Preface' illustrates that traditions persist on account of, not despite, cultural shifts which simultaneously revolutionize and seem, superficially, to undermine the traditions which they ultimately reaffirm. Likewise, as Martin Camargo's work on the epistolary tradition illustrates, genres persist because of their ability to negotiate such changes. Further, this dynamic notion of genre can help us understand why satire, which calls attention to the function of social and cultural trends, is particularly adept at charting generic transformations. Nashe's satire, focused as it is on the method of textual production and the dissemination of the written word, is particularly revelatory on matters of genre. Despite the chaotic nature of his career, Nashe was *consistent* in championing tradition and *authoritas* in both interpretation and the writing of literary texts. Literature had become debased, lacking a fitting final cause, serving instead to merely provide quick cash for writers and a venue for witty sparring. The tradition which Minnis sees as disappearing by the sixteenth century is, ironically, revived *and* revolutionized by Nashe as part of his aspiration to keep such traditions alive.

---

[37] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 313.

[38] Nashe, *The Works*, ed. by McKerrow, III, 313.

Part II

Documents and Epistles

LETTER WRITING AND SOPHISTIC CAREERS IN PHILOSTRATUS'S *LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS*

Carol Poster

With the recent dramatic increase of interest in the second sophistic, post-classical Greek letters, and ancient fiction, it is not surprising that Philostratan studies have become somewhat of a growth industry.[1] Despite this perfect storm, as it were, of disciplinary focus, scholars have yet

---

[1] Many recent studies of Philostratus focus on the *Heroicus*, *Imagines*, and *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. Among the studies most relevant to sophistic rhetoric and letter writing are Graham Anderson, *Philostratus: Biography and Belles Lettres in the Second Century A.D.* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); *Philostratus*, ed. by Ewen Bowie and Jas Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Dominique Côté, 'Les deux sophistiques de Philostrate', *Rhetorica*, 24 (2006), 1–35; and Kendra Eshleman, 'Defining the Circle of Sophists: Philostratus and the Construction of the Second Sophistic', *Classical Philology*, 103.4 (2008), 395–413. Recent relevant studies in ancient letter writing include Charles D. N. Costa, *Greek Fictional Letters: A Selection with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Benjamin Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007); Pierre-Louis Malosse, *Lettres pour toutes circonstances: Les traités épistolaires du Pseudo-Libanios et du Pseudo-Démétrios de Phalère* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004); Ruth Morello and A. D. Morrison, *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Carol Poster, 'The Economy of Letter-Writing in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', in *Rhetorical Argumentation and the*

Carol Poster completed a dissertation on ancient rhetoric directed by Martin Camargo at University of Missouri in 1994. She co-edited *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present* (2007) and has published numerous articles on the history of rhetoric in journals including *Advances in the History of Rhetoric*, *American Journal of Philology*, *College English*, *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, *Rhetoric Review*, and *Rhetorica*.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 83–101 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107450

to discuss the treatment of letter-writing in Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists*,[2] a work dating to 230–38 CE. The reason why this scholarly lacuna deserves to be filled is that Philostratus, along with Lucian and Libanius,[3] provides considerable insight into how letter-theory, pedagogy, and practice fit into sophistic careers. This chapter will follow the methods developed by Martin Camargo of viewing letter-theory as existing within a reciprocal relationship with letter-writing careers.[4] It begins by examining Philostratus's account of the activities compris-

---

New Testament, ed. by Tom Olbricht, Walter Ubelacker, and Anders Eriksson (Harrisonburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), pp. 114–26; Carol Poster, 'A Conversation Halved: Epistolary Theory in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 21–51; Carol Poster, 'The Case of the Purloined Letter-Manuals: Archival Issues in Ancient Epistolary Theory', *Rhetoric Review*, 27 (2008), 1–19; Carol Poster, 'The Rhetoric of "Rhetoric" in Ancient Rhetorical Historiography', in *Rhetoric in the Rest of the West*, ed. by Shane Borrowman and others (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010), pp. 1–19; E. Randolph Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1990); E. Randolph Richards, *Paul and First Century Letter Writing* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004); and Patricia A. Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[2] References to Philostratus, *VS* are to Philostratus and Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists / Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers*, ed. and trans. by Wilmer C. Wright (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). All papyrological references follow the abbreviations specified in *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*, ed. by John F. Oates and others, 4th edn, Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Sup. 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

[3] For Lucian's works, see Lucian of Samosata, *Works*, trans. by A. M. Harmon and others, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913).

[4] Martin Camargo's studies exemplifying this approach include 'If You Can't Join Them, Beat Them; or, When Grammar Met Business Writing (in Fifteenth-Century Oxford)', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction*, ed. by Poster and Mitchell, pp. 67–87; 'Latin Composition Textbooks and *Ad Herennium* Glossing: The Missing Link?', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 267–88; 'The Pedagogy of the *Dictatores*', in *Papers on Rhetoric V: Atti del Convegno Internazionale 'Dictamen, Poetria and Cicero: Coherence and Diversification', Bologna, 10–11 Maggio 2002*, ed. by Lucia Calboli Montefusco (Roma: Herder, 2003), pp. 65–94; and 'Betweeen Grammar and Rhetoric: Composition Teaching at Oxford and Bologna in the Late Middle Ages', in *Rhetoric and Pedagogy: Its History, Philosophy, and Practice; Essays in Honor of James J. Murphy*, ed. by Winifred Bryan Horner and Michael Leff (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 1995), pp. 83–94. I should note that Martin Camargo's influence on this chapter is not limited solely to his written work. I first encountered epistolary theory in Camargo's seminars at the University of Missouri and continued to investigate it while completing a dissertation on ancient rhetoric under his supervision.

ing sophistic careers and concludes with an analysis of Philostratus's evaluative comments on letter writing and its role in sophistic careers and education.

Sophistic Activities

Philostratus's discussion of letter writing is embedded in a general account of the activities, abilities, and characteristics of sophists. The precise way in which he deploys the terms 'sophistic' and 'rhetoric' reflects some of the disciplinary tensions common in his period, especially concerning the respective value of the more technical aspects of issue theory, advanced style and imitation, and knowledge of law and Latin.[5] Despite some ambiguity in terminology, the actual activities performed by the men Philostratus discusses are clearly enumerated.

As has been frequently pointed out by scholars writing about the second sophistic, what Philostratus most admired in sophists was brilliance in extemporaneous declamation.[6] Although declamation was the activity which Philostratus valued most highly in the sophists he discusses in his *Lives*, and perhaps the most important for spreading a sophist's reputation and achieving broad acclaim, nonetheless the sophist could not live by declamation alone. A second characteristic activity is teaching. Philostratus was typical in assessing sophists on the basis of the number and quality of their pupils, criticizing Cassianus for aspiring to the rhetorical chair at Athens despite having taught no one except Periges the Lydian.[7] Libanius, also, in defending himself from those who reproach him with a lack of distinguished pupils,[8] also provides evidence that a sophist's reputation depended on the size and quality of his 'chorus', as his pupils and admirers were known.[9] The other activities to which Philostratus refers frequently are forensic oratory, the writing of historical narratives, participation in embassies, letter writing, the composing of rhetorical handbooks, and appointments to municipal chairs of rhetoric (especially at Rome and Athens) and the positions of treasury advocate and imperial secretary. Each of these played quite different roles within sophistic careers.

---

[5] For controversies over the definition of 'sophist', see Anderson, *Philostratus*. Also see Glen W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Malcolm Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Simon Swain, 'The Reliability of Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists*', *Classical Antiquity*, 10.1 (1991), 148–63. See D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 74 sq. for discussion of the characteristic activities of the sophists, and the importance of declamation for reputation and teaching for remuneration.

[6] See Heath, *Menander* and Swain, 'The Reliability of Philostratus's *Lives*' for discussion of Philostratus's biases as a chronicler of ancient rhetoric and sophistic. Other significant primary sources for Greek sophists under the Roman Empire include Aristides, Libanius, and Lucian. Seneca the Elder is a significant source for declamation, but exists within a slightly different cultural context. For the culture of Greek declamation, see, inter alia, Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* and Russell, *Greek Declamation*.

[7] *VS* 627. See, e.g., Philostratus's description of the notable pupils of Chrestus of Byzantium: *VS* 590–91.

[8] *Or.* 62.5 in Libanius, *Selected Works*, intro. and trans. by A. F. Norman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

Although much important scholarly discussion has been devoted to the second sophistic as a cultural phenomenon and the role of sophistic in the self-fashioning of the Graeco-Roman elite, it is also possible to view sophistic in a more straightforward fashion as a career, a way for those with advanced liberal educations to earn an income. From a career perspective, one can divide sophistic activities into four categories:

Reputational: declaiming, writing histories and handbooks, going on embassies

Directly remunerated: teaching, letter writing, forensic pleading, some declaiming

Ancillary: letter writing, technography

Mixed: letter writing, technography, composing model declamations

While declamation was consistently portrayed as the most important component of a sophist's reputation, it contributed irregularly to his economic well-being. Although sophists who gave command performances in front of emperors or the fabulously wealthy appear to have been given gifts or honours, Philostratus does not record a regular practice of fees for declamation.[10]

---

[9] See discussion of Libanius's students in Raffaella Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 42–82, Heath, *Menander*, pp. 282–83, and Paul Petit, *Les etudiants de Libanius* (Paris: Nouvelles editions Latines, 1957).

[10] See *VS* 538–39, for example: Philostratus records that the plutocrat Herodes Atticus sent the sophist Polemo 10,000 drachmas as a 'fee' for three declamations. However, this is not portrayed as a fixed fee arranged in advance by mutual consent, but rather an extravagant tip or gift and is evidence for funding sophists as a form of conspicuous euergetism rather than regular fees for declamation. Also, see *VS* 605, which describes how Damianus of Ephesus gave 10,000 drachmas each to Aristides and Adrian of Tyre for lectures, a sum equivalent to the annual salary for the holder of the chair of rhetoric in Athens. For discussion of teachers' pay,

Instead, some sophists, especially those who travelled widely to lecture or engage in sophistic contests, could, like Heracleides of Lycia, become wealthy from lecturing alone,[11] but much of the declaiming in Philostratus appears unremunerated, and often even impromptu, done for reputational rather than financial purposes. Similarly, going on embassies, like performing liturgies, was more of an expense that enhanced the reputations of the gentlemen performing the tasks than a remunerated activity. Given the absence of what we would consider intellectual property laws, writing histories and rhetorical handbooks also were unremunerated activities that served to enhance sophistic reputations but did not directly contribute to their income. Even when Quintilian, for example, attempted to assert control over his own work by publishing authorized versions, the purpose was not immediate financial gain. Rather, he makes two arguments for publication of his work. The first, a standard topos in ancient prefaces, was that he published his work at the urging of his friends. The second is the availability of pirated or informal editions:

> Two books on the art of rhetoric are at present circulating under my name, although never published by me or composed for such a purpose. One is a two days' lecture that was taken down by the boys who were my audience. The other consists of such notes as my good pupils succeeded in taking down from a course of lectures [...]. Consequently, in the present work although some passages remain the same, you will find many alterations and still more additions, while the whole theme will be treated with greater system and with as great perfection as lies within my power.[12]

The purpose of the authorized edition, as it were, is primarily reputational, showing off Quintilian in a better light than he might appear in the uncorrected notes of his pupils. From a financial perspective, declaiming, writing histories and handbooks, and going on embassies can best be seen as forms of advertising, enhancing a sophist's visibility in ways that would increase the markets for more directly remunerated activities.

---

see Clarence Forbes, *Teachers' Pay in Ancient Greece* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Studies in the Humanities, 1942).

[11] *VS* 613 sq.

[12] *Inst.* I.7, in Quintilian, *The Insititutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. by H. E. Butler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Sophistic Teaching

The single most frequently mentioned paid activity of the sophist, in Libanius as well as Philostratus, was teaching. The actual modes of remuneration for teaching were quite diverse. In most cases, pupils paid agreed-upon fees to their teachers. This arrangement made the economic life of the teacher fraught with uncertainty. First, as rival sophists competed for pupils, teachers' incomes fluctuated with their popularity and the presence or absence of competitors in a city.[13] Rivalries for students among Athenian sophists, according to Libanius, even led to the gangs following certain teachers kidnapping students arriving at Piraeus to ensure that they did not join a rival's chorus.[14] Next, collecting fees was often difficult. Two perennial problems were parents who did not pay fees and parents who would withdraw students from classes slightly before the end of the term in order to avoid owing fees, which were often charged for a fixed period of instruction.[15] On the positive side, in addition to fixed fees, grateful parents or students might offer gifts to their teachers. At one end of the economic spectrum, Philostratus describes a visit of the sophist Scopelian to the house of Atticus, father of Herodes:

> Herodes at this time was only a stripling [...] but he cared only for extempore speaking though he had not enough confidence for it. [...] For this reason he rejoiced at Scopelian's visit. For when he heard him speak and handle an extempore discourse, by his example he became fledged and fully equipped, and with the idea of pleasing his father, he invited him to hear him give a declamation in the same style as their guest. His father greatly admired his imitation and gave him fifty talents, while to Scopelian himself he gave fifteen; but Herodes besides gave him from his own present the same sum.[16]

---

[13] Eunapius discusses the rivalries in which Prohaeresius and his students were involved. (See I, 485–92.) Although Philostratus mentions rivalries among sophists, he does not give precise details concerning the practice of stealing pupils, which we find mentioned in Libanius's letters as well as his *Autobiography*. See Libanius, *Autobiography and Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. by A. F. Norman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). See also Cribiore, *The School of Libanius*, pp. 83–136, for analysis.

[14] Libanius, *Autobiography and Selected Letters*, ed. and trans. by Norman, pp. 17–21.

[15] A contract apprenticing a slave to a shorthand writer composed in Oxyrhynchus in 159 CE specifies three equal payments of forty drachmas each to be given to the teacher when the pupil had achieved specified levels of mastery (*P. Oxy.* IV.724). Libanius expresses concerns about students only staying for partial courses and problems with payment, as discussed in Cribiore, *The School of Libanius*, pp. 174–96.

[16] *VS* 521.

At the other end of the economic spectrum, a second-century-CE papyrus letter from Graeco-Roman Egypt records a substantially more modest gift. The sender instructs the recipient:

> Send the pigeons and small fowl, which I am not accustomed to eat, to Heraidous's teacher. [...] Whatever is not eaten, send as a gift to my daughter's teacher, so that he may take trouble over her.[17]

Regular salaries also occur at both ends of the teaching spectrum. At the apex of the teaching pyramid were the coveted municipal chairs of rhetoric, which were exceptional in giving their holders a regular salary, granted in the form of money, immunities from taxes, staple goods such as wine and grain, or some combination thereof. The other group of teachers who drew regular salaries were 'underteachers', who assisted in the schools of well-known sophists. Although these were not mentioned by Philostratus, in Libanius's correspondence, we find evidence that the underteachers who aided a holder of a municipal chair might be funded by the city, as part of the financial structure of the chair; alternatively, a sophist with a large number of students could pay assistants fixed salaries or enter into to some sort of fee-splitting arrangement with them; our evidence concerning the precise funding of underteachers is unfortunately quite limited. In smaller villages, teachers, often being among the few people with advanced literacy skills, might also enhance their incomes by applying their verbal and writing skills to other tasks such as letter writing or composing petitions, but these must be regarded as distinct forms of economic activity rather than as teaching per se.

Another form of financial activity for teachers was training slaves in literate skills. The economic basis of this activity was that a skilled slave was more valuable than an unskilled one. Educated slaves could be employed as copyists, stenographers, calligraphers, secretaries, or estate managers.[18] Thus teachers could make money either by training slaves for their owners or by investing in unskilled slaves, teaching them some form of verbal or literate skills, and reselling them at a profit or leasing them out on short-term contracts. The edict of

---

[17] *P. Giss.* I. 80.

[18] For stenography, see H. C. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1985). Jean-Jacques Aubert, *Business Managers in Ancient Rome* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) discusses estate management as a career. Comprehensive surveys of the role of secretaries can be found in Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul.* Cicero's Tiro is perhaps the most famous of ancient secretaries, but Lucian, in *The Dependent Scholar* (*De Mercede conductis*) portrays the more unpleasant aspects of the profession in striking detail.

Vespasian, forbidding holders of municipal chairs to educate slaves, suggests this practice was widespread and profitable, but it is not explicitly discussed in literary sources, suggesting that it may have been regarded as less than admirable.[19]

Forensic Oratory

Philostratus mentions the courtroom performance of several of his sophists, sometimes comparing their skills in forensic oratory to their skills as declaimers.[20] The degree to which sophistic schools prepared students for careers in forensic oratory was a matter of some debate in antiquity.[21] What seems most likely is that we are observing in the late second and early third century an increasing degree of professional specialization within verbal skills training, culminating in the separation of Latin, law, and stenography into independent courses of study, located in schools distinct from rhetorical ones. Nonetheless, rhetorical studies, even if not necessarily advanced declamation skills, served as a general grounding for oratory of all forms. Some of Libanius's pupils, especially those from distinguished and wealthy families, were able to end their schooling with rhetoric, while others continued on to legal studies in order to attain more lucrative positions.[22]

---

[19] For slave training, see Alan D. Booth, 'The Schooling of Slaves in First Century Rome', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 109 (1979), 11–20, and Clarence Forbes, 'The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 86 (1955), 321–60.

[20] Among the sophists Philostratus describes as engaging in forensic oratory are Nicetes (*VS* 511), Theodotus (*VS* 567), Ptolemy of Naucratis (*VS* 595), Heracleides (*VS* 613), and Quirinus (*VS* 621).

[21] The degree to which sophistic training prepared pupils for law courts is debated at length in S. F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969), pp. 71–83; Heath, *Menander*, pp. 217–332; E. P. Parks, *The Roman Rhetorical Schools as Preparation for the Courts under the Early Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945); Fritz Saaby Pedersen, *Late Roman Professionalism* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1976); and Michael Winterbottom, 'Schoolroom and Courtroom', in *Rhetoric Revalued: Papers from the International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, ed. by Brian Vickers, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 19 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982). For careers of Libanius's students, see Cribiore, *The School of Libanius*, pp. 42–82, and Petit, *Les etudiants de Libanius*.

[22] See Cribiore, *The School of Libanius*, pp. 174–96. For discussion of Libanius's relationship with local bureaucracies and how he used those connections to advance his own career

Although not every sophist pled in law courts, advocacy was a possible and often lucrative career for the sophistically trained. While classical Athenian citizens spoke for themselves in law courts, and patrons were advocates for their clients in Republican Rome, by the imperial period, advocacy had become a profession equivalent to ambulance-chasing lawyers trawling for cases outside the courts of Graeco-Roman Egypt. If someone in a smaller municipality or village needed an advocate for a dispute over such common issues as water rights, property, taxes, or pig theft, a local teacher with even the most rudimentary rhetorical or sophistic training would be an obvious choice; thus, even basic training in forensic oratory would provide a teacher with opportunities for extra income.[23] The most distinguished legal position Philostratus mentions is head treasury advocate, a position held by Quirinus and Heliodorus.[24] Although less visible than the office of imperial secretary within sophistic culture, its role as a unique position of power, directly appointed by the emperor, and responsible for significant revenue, makes it noteworthy. As far fewer of Philostratus's sophists are mentioned as having been treasury advocates than imperial secretaries, we may be seeing a professional bifurcation between the sophistically and legally trained in the choice of appointees. On the other hand, as Philostratus is interested primarily in those notable as declaimers rather than lawyers, his sample may be skewed. While Philostratus focuses on oral pleading in his anecdotes concerning forensic oratory, in a manner congruent with his general interest in the oral performance, it should be noted that much legal activity was enacted in the epistolary genres of petition and rescript; thus, legal training and performance are properly subsumed under both the categories of forensic oratory and letter writing. In particular, the duties of imperial secretaries included composing rescripts, or imperial legal opinions written in response to petitions.[25]

---

and those of his students, see Paul Petit, *Les fonctionnaires dans l'oeuvre de Libanius: Analyse proposopographique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994).

[23] For discussion of advocacy as a career, see especially John A. Crook, *Law and the Life of Rome* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967) and Heath, *Menander*, pp. 289–94.

[24] *VS* 621; *VS* 626.

[25] See Tony Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (London: Duckworth, 1981) for a detailed discussion of the role of rescripts in Roman law, and Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control* for papyrus petitions.

Letter Writing as a Profession

As I have discussed in some detail elsewhere,[26] the profession of letter writing was widely diffused through ancient society. At the lower end of the economic spectrum were street scribes or village schoolmasters producing letters for the illiterate for small fees. Government offices were staffed with people on long- and short-term contracts who composed, filed, annotated, and copied official letters and responses to petitions. Secretaries might range from stenographers who took verbatim dictation to those who composed letters based on general directions from their employers. Wealthy private individuals might employ secretaries for both private and business correspondence. The skills required varied by position. While a street scribe might need only basic competence in literacy and letter-writing conventions, the office of *ab epistulis* (both the imperial secretary and chancery staff) and secretarial positions in houses of the wealthy required the ability to correspond with members of the Graeco-Roman elites in a manner that would reflect credibly within the hierarchy of cultural prestige on the credentials of the office or person for whom they were writing.[27]

Ancillary Activities

Modern theorists of professional writing distinguish between writing as a profession and writing in the professions. The phrase 'writing as a profession' is used to describe careers or freelance activities focused exclusively on and paid directly for writing, such as speech writing, journalism, and web-content writing. There are, however, many careers which require substantial amounts of writing but the ultimate outcomes, goals, or products of which are not written artefacts. For example, corporate managers write memos and status reports, engineers may write specifications and design documents, and doctors may write patient records. Even professional writers, though, may engage in writing as an ancillary activity. A modern journalist writing e-mails to expert sources, expense reports, or query letters is engaging in writing in the profession of journalism rather than journalistic writing. Similarly, the ancient sophistic was a profession that involved both direct remuneration for verbal skills and use of writing for ancillary tasks. These ancillary tasks are distinct from the reputational ones of declamation in that they are not merely reputational, but essential to the practice of the sophistic profession. The two most important ancillary writing tasks were writing letters and compiling teaching materials.

---

[26] See Poster, 'The Economy of Letter-Writing'. See also Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* and Richards, *Paul and First Century Letter Writing* on use of secretaries.

[27] Lucian describes in meticulous detail the way in which secretarial employment was dependent on the secretary projecting the image of a cultured gentleman ('pepaideumenos'), especially in *Pro Lapsu inter salutandum*, but also *Apologia* and *De Mercede conductis*.

Philostratus's discussion of teaching materials is limited, as he is more focused on reputational than practical activities. He mentions two distinct methods of compiling a body of teaching materials: writing handbooks and assembling collections of existing materials. Several sophists wrote rhetorical handbooks, including Hermogenes, who, after his youthful brilliance as a declaimer faded, composed some of the most important rhetorical handbooks of late antiquity, works that Philostratus passes over in silence.[28] Proclus of Naucratis is singled out by Philostratus for assembling a large library for his students' use, an activity facilitated by his maintaining connections with his native city, the Greek trading polis of Naucratis on the Nile delta, and importing papyrus at cost for use in his school. Sophists also performed model declamations for their students as well as having students read and imitate works of Demosthenes and other Attic orators. As I have argued elsewhere,[29] many ancient letter collections may have originated as pedagogical compilations.

Letter writing also appears as an ancillary activity for Philostratus's sophists, including conducting correspondence with patrons, engaging in sophistic rivalries, and maintaining professional networks. The letters of Libanius can be used to fill in the quotidian details omitted by Philostratus, providing evidence of regular correspondence with parents, especially in the form of progress reports, recommendation letters for pupils, application letters, and miscellaneous business correspondence.[30]

Letter Writing in Philostratus's Lives of the Sophists

Although the analysis of letter writing in *Lives of the Sophists* takes the form of scattered comments rather than a coherent or extended treatise, Philostratus nevertheless presents a coherent and comprehensive vision of the style and character of the sophistic letter and the way in which letter writing functioned within sophistic careers. Especially when read in concert with the *Erotic Letters* and the brief treatise on letter writing by Philostratus of Lemnos (a relative of the biographer), Philostratus's work is perhaps second only to the voluminous corpus of Libanius in illuminating for us how letter writing functioned in the sophistic circles of the post-classical Greek world.[31] Philostratus's comments on letter writing fall into four main groups:

---

[28] Philostratus discusses Hermogenes as a prodigy in declamation quite briefly, and then states that he died despised because his 'art had deserted him'. See *VS* 577–78.

[29] Poster, 'The Case of the Purloined Letter-Manuals'.

[30] For discussion of Libanius's professional correspondence, see Cribiore, *The School of Libanius*, pp. 83–136.

Summaries: Philostratus summarizes the contents of letters sent by several of the sophists he mentions. He is especially interested in sophistic correspondence with emperors and other important figures.

Appointments of Imperial Secretaries: For Philostratus, the most important honours accorded to sophists were the Chairs of Rhetoric at Athens and Rome and the positions of imperial secretary and treasury advocate. The degree to which a sophist fails or succeeds in attaining such honours is a crucial element of the sophist's biography and career success (or failure).[32]

Letter Style: Philostratus occasionally mentions sophists' skill (or lack of skill) at letter writing.

Philostratus of Lemnos: The most extended discussion of letter writing occurs in a section on the rivalry between Aspasius and Philostratus of Lemnos portraying the Lemnian Philostratus as the epistolary expert of the family.[33]

Because Philostratus's method is purely biographical rather than analytical, multiple themes often appear in the discussion of each sophist. For Philostratus, sophistic letter writing was embedded within a totality of a sophistic career and thus best understood within that context.

---

[31] Cribiore, *The School of Libanius* mines the letters to illuminate pedagogical practice. In so doing, she provides detailed analysis of the letters relevant to Libanius's pedagogical endeavours, including the occasions of writing, what Libanius chose to include or exclude from his letters to pupils' families, and how his letter functioned in negotiating issues of prestige and power.

[32] The office of imperial secretary has been widely discussed in scholarly literature, including by Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, pp. 44, 50–51, 53–57, and 92; Naphtali Lewis, 'Literati in the Service of Roman Emperors: Politics Before Culture', in *Coins, Culture, and History in the Ancient World: Numismatic and Other Studies in Honor of Bluma L. Trell*, ed. by Lionel Casson and Martin Price (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), pp. 149–58; and G. B. Townend, 'The Post of *ab epistulis* in the Second Century', *Historia*, 10 (1961), 375–81.

[33] *VS* 311 sq.

Aeschines

The earliest letters Philostratus discusses are those of Aeschines, who is introduced as part of the 'first' sophistic. Philostratus praises the three extant orations of Aeschines — *Against Timarchus*, *In Defence of the Embassy*, and *Against Ctesiphon* — dismisses *On Delos* as inauthentic, and then adds:

> There is also extant a fourth work of his, the *Letters*, which, though they are few, are full of learning and character [*eupaideusias de mestai kai êthous*].[34]

Although this collection of Aeschines' letters is still extant, it is rarely discussed by modern scholars, due to its lack of authenticity.[35] The praise accorded to the letters by Philostratus suggests that the collection should be revisited not within the context of historical study of Aeschines but rather in light of its function as a model, and perhaps example, for later epistolary pedagogy and practice.

Philostratus described the letters as displaying *paideia* and character, in a manner suggesting the commonplace of epistolary theory that letters 'should abound in glimpses of character'.[36] Perhaps the most important feature of letter writing, from Philostratus's perspective, often more than the denotative content of the letter, is the intrinsic creation of the *ethos* of the *pepaideumenos*, or educated gentleman. Just as the letter was taught in the progymnasmata as an exercise in prosopopoeia, so letters which display mastery of *ethos* show expertise in letter writing. In fact, Philostratus takes some pains to portray Aeschines as a gentleman, attributing his quarrel with Demosthenes not only to their being clients of the opposing kings of Macedonia and Persia, respectively, but also to temperament:[37]

---

[34] *VS* 510.

[35] The most recent edition of the letters, Aeschines, *Aeschinis Quae Feruntur Epistolae*, ed. by E. Drerup (Lipsius: Weichart, 1904), is dated and rare.

[36] Demetrius, *De Eloc.*, p. 227.

[37] Philostratus's account of the famous quarrel is anomalous in historical details as well as both in eliding Aeschines' unimpressive antecedents and clearly regarding Aeschines as the more interesting speaker. See Heath, *Menander*, pp. 36–39, and Swain, 'The Reliability of Philostratus's *Lives*' for discussions of Philostratus's general biases or, to use less loaded terms, interests and focus.

> Aeschines was a lover of wine, had agreeable and easy manners, and was endowed with all the charm of a follower of Dionysus; and in fact while he was still a mere boy, he actually played minor roles for tragic actors. Demosthenes, on the other hand, had a gloomy expression and an austere brow, and was a water-drinker; hence he was reckoned an ill-tempered and unsociable person.[38]

For Philostratus, the contrast between the political orator Demosthenes and the sophist Aeschines lies precisely in *ethos*, extrinsic as well as intrinsic, with the sophist distinguished by many of the same characteristics that might be prerequisite to either social success as a gentleman or a career as a parasite.[39]

Also significant is the context within which Philostratus associates Aeschines with tragedy. As a statement of fact, it would have been information quite familiar to Philostratus's readers, as it appears in Demosthenes, *De Corona*,[40] a text widely studied and admired in post-classical rhetorical education.[41] However, whereas in Demosthenes, it is a fact introduced to denigrate Aeschines as lacking the character and background of a gentleman, in Philostratus, acting experience is portrayed as a desirable attribute for a sophist.

The play on Aeschines as follower of Dionysus with respect to being both a drinker of wine and tragic performer is a graceful stylistic touch. More importantly, it introduces an unusual form of association of writing and drama. Typically, the most common association occurs in the context of delivery, anything from mentions of sophists perfecting their delivery by studying with or imitating actors to evaluations of the quality of delivery by either positive or negative comparisons with drama (including, on occasion, criticisms of oratorical styles that seem too theatrical). In this passage, though, Philostratus introduces tragedy within a different context, namely the creation of *ethos*, or prosopopoeia, in which the sophist as writer assumes a verbal mask just as the actor assumes a physical and vocal one, an association that recurs in Philostratus's discussion of Antipater.

---

[38] *VS* 507–08.

[39] See Lucian for parallels between how the social skills and geniality of the parasite served to obtain dinners and how the rhetorician obtained students: *De Parasito*, *Rhetorum Praeceptor*. Lucian is here following a descriptive tradition descending from Plato, *Plato VII: Theaetatus, Sophist*, trans. by H. N. Fowler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925) (*Soph*. 223 sq.) to Themestius of the sophist as 'a mercenary hunter of wealthy young men' (*Or.* 23.288).

[40] See p. 262.

[41] For a discussion of the more typical reception of Demosthenes as the ideal of Attic oratory, see Craig A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and his Ancient Commentators* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and Heath, *Menander*, pp. 132–83.

Antipater

An emphasis on *ethos*, and specifically impersonation, more extensive than that found in Philostratus's discussion of Aeschines, occurs in his account of Antipater. Antipater was appointed imperial secretary by Severus and is described as having been 'brilliantly successful' in that position. Philostratus adds:

> For my part let me here openly express my opinion that, though there were many men who both declaimed and wrote historical narratives better than Antipater, yet no one composed letters better than he, but like a brilliant tragic actor who has a thorough knowledge of his profession, his utterances were always in keeping with the Imperial role. For what he said was always clear, the sentiments were elevated, the style was always well adapted to the occasion, and he secured a pleasing effect by the use of asyndeton, a device that, in a letter above all, enhances the brilliance of the style.[42]

This account of Antipater's strengths and weaknesses provides considerable insight into Philostratus's views of the crucial characteristics and abilities requisite for sophistic letter writing. The essential skill is projection of the appropriate *ethos*.

One aspect of sophistic training that modern scholars have often found especially alien or unrealistic is the tradition of declaiming, not in *propria persona* or even in the neutral voice of a generic advocate, but in fictive voices of characters or character types.[43] Although many factors no doubt contributed to this aspect of sophistic pedagogy, Philostratus's account suggests a straightforwardly practical rationale. If one significant career path for the sophistically trained student was letter writing, a major necessary skill would have been the ability to write in the personae of a wide range of possible employers. One might work on a short-term government contract one year and after that take a post as a secretary for a rich Roman matron. The ability to assume the appropriate style and voice for a given position, like an actor's ability to assume multiple characters, was a practical job skill. In writing imperial letters, including, one assumes, rescripts, which were opinions responding to legal appeals, the appropriate persona was dignified and elevated but without sacrificing clarity for effect.

---

[42] *VS* 607.

[43] For a strongly Foucauldian account of declamation in fictive personae as exercises in self-fashioning, see W. Martin Bloomer, 'Schooling in Persona: Imagination and Subordination in Roman Education', *Classical Antiquity*, 16.1 (1997), 57–78, and Maude Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). Henri Bornecque, *Les déclamations et déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967) argues that the Greek novel originated in declamation themes. Costa, *Greek Fictional Letters* and Rosenmeyer, *Ancient Epistolary Fictions* contextualize Greek fictional letters primarily in relation to the ancient novel.

The stylistic recommendation of *asyndeton* is similar to discussions of figures in other ancient epistolary theorists. Although no others specifically recommend *asyndeton*, like Philostratus, they urge restraint in use of figures and periods, suggesting that verbal ornament be used occasionally to elevate letters slightly above ordinary speech but not so frequently as to cause a letter to resemble the grand or forceful styles of the orators.

Aspasius and Philostratus of Lemnos

Philostratus introduces his relative, Philostratus of Lemnos, in the context of a rivalry with another sophist, Aspasius. Deftly using the rhetorical figure of *praeteritio*, our biographer states that it is not for him to write of his relative's skill in declamation, forensic and political oratory, treatise writing, and extemporaneous speech.[44] Despite this admirable rhetorical restraint, the two pages of Greek text concerning this rivalry, read in combination with the extant short tract by the Lemnian Philostratus to which it refers,[45] provide unique insights into the disciplinary rivalries between professional letter-writing experts and other rhetoricians and sophists during the second and third centuries.[46] Despite their significance, both the passage in Philostratus's *Lives* and the tractate of the Lemnian Phiolostratus have received scant attention from scholars.

---

[44] *VS* 628.

[45] The tractate is preserved as a sort of *prolegomenon* to manuscripts of Philostratus's *Erotic Letters*. Text, translation, and a brief analysis of the tractate may be found in Abraham J. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988). See also Poster, 'A Conversation Halved', pp. 32–33.

[46] The disciplinary configuration of this rivalry exhibits a pattern similar to the one found in fifteenth-century Oxford between university and independent professional writing teachers discussed in Camargo, 'If You Can't Join Them, Beat Them'. In antiquity, as in fifteenth-century Oxford, professional teachers relied more on models and formularies than on the theoretical textbooks favoured by rhetoricians.

Part of the difficulty in studying the Philostrati is prosopographical. There were at least three, and possibly four, Philosotrati, who were active as sophists in the second and third centuries, all related to one another, and all possessing similar prose styles, making it difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty the authorship of several of the texts attributed to them. Compounding the confusion, the family was from Lemnos, giving them Athenian as well as Lemnian citizenship, and therefore members could be referred to as either Athenians or Lemnians. Like many sophists of the period, they travelled extensively and could also be associated with other cities where they resided or taught, leading them to be referenced by names indicating places where they resided or taught as well. Internal references firmly establish the author of the *Lives of the Sophists* as also the biographer of Apollonius of Tyana; biographical sources refer to him as Philostratus of Lemnos, Philostratus of Athens, and Philostratus of Tyre. The Lemnian Philostratus referred to by our biographer is definitely a relative of the biographer, although the precise relationship is unclear. Although for the sake of convenience and readability, I refer to the biographer as Philostratus and the author of the letter-writing tractate as the Lemnian Philostratus, following the usage of the biographer, it should be noted that ancient sources are less consistent.

Philostratus's account of the rivalry between Aspasius and the Lemnian Philostratus emphasizes their respective skills at various sophistic activities in the context of their careers. Philostratus describes Aspasius's style as restrained, tasteful, and well proportioned but lacking in vigour. He mentions that Aspasius travelled widely, both on his own and in the train of the emperor. At some point, possibly after the period of his travels, 'He [Aspasius] held the chair of rhetoric at Rome with great credit to himself so long as he was young, but as he grew old he was criticized for not being willing to resign it in another's favour'.[47] Given the context of Philostratus's remarks, it is possible that Philostratus considered his friends, relatives, and associates — the Lemnian Philostratus, Nicagoras of Athens, or Apsines of Gadara — more deserving holders of the chair.

Philostratus (the biographer) claims that Aspasius, although not naturally skilled in extemporaneous speaking, taught himself the skill by close observation and imitation of his rival until he too attained the 'accuracy and terseness' characteristic of the Lemnian Philostratus. However, Aspasius's lack of natural talent surfaced in another area. In particular, our Philostratus argues, Aspasius was an incompetent imperial secretary, who 'wrote certain letters in a style more controversial than is suitable; and others he wrote in obscure language, though neither of these qualities is becoming to an Emperor'. Interestingly, the critique contrasts the ideal imperial secretarial style not with declamation, but with forensic oratory:

---

[47] *VS* 627.

> For an Emperor when he writes ought not to use enthymemes or epicheiremes, but ought to express only his own will; nor again should he be obscure, since he is the voice of the law, and lucidity is the interpreter of the law.[48]

In other words, Philostratus here is sustaining a link between declamation and letter writing, grounded in style and *ethos*, which he contrasts with forensic and political oratory, which are more dependent on the argumentative techniques codified in issue theory.

The Lemnian Philostratus, in his short but influential tractate,[49] makes a similar connection between letter composition and *ethos*, and similar contrast between epistolary and rhetorical style. He begins his tractate by recommending the best letter collections for use as models, an opening that emphasizes the grounding of ancient epistolary pedagogy in imitation of models and pedagogical use of letter collections. He recommends the letters of Apollonius of Tyana as the best example of philosophical letters. Since these letters are appended to Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, and Philostratus was at least partially responsible for editing or collecting (and perhaps even partially composing) the collection, the recommendations suggest that the family business of sophistic benefited from reciprocal promotional activities. More interestingly, the Lemnian Philostratus recommends Marcus Aurelius's letters as the best imperial ones, on the basis of both intrinsic and extrinsic *ethos*, stating 'for in addition to his distinction in speech, his firmness of character too, had been imprinted in his letters'.[50]

Finally, just as the biographer recommends lucidity as the hallmark of epistolary excellence, so too the Lemnian Philostratus recommends an 'appropriate epistolary style' displaying moderate Atticism, but refraining from excessive rhetorical flourishes. Most importantly, in a manner similar to the biographer's recommendation of clarity in petitions and other imperial correspondence, the tractate states:

---

[48] *VS* 628.

[49] As both ps.-Libanius and Gregory of Nazianus reference this tractate, it appears to have been widely known and admired. See Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, p. 3.

[50] *De epistulis*, in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, pp. 5–7.

> Whether clarity is a good guide for all discourse, it is especially so for a letter. Whether we grant something or make a petition, whether we agree or disagree, whether we attack someone or defend ourselves, or whether we state our love, we shall more easily prevail if we express ourselves with clarity of style.[51]

While the tractate of the Lemnian Philostratus reflects the emphasis on letter types and letter style typical of epistolary handbooks, and the biographer, although sharing stylistic concerns, is more concerned with *ethos* and argument than letter classifications, both share similar convictions concerning what distinguishes good from bad letter writing.

Letter Writing and Sophistic Careers

What this brief survey suggests is that letter writing, at least in Philostratus, appears as an integral element of sophistic activity. First, sophists wrote letters as part of their ordinary business activities, corresponding with patrons and parents and maintaining social and political networks. Next, sophists or sophistically trained pupils might be employed as secretaries in government positions or as private secretaries. Finally, the skills sophists taught by exercises in declamation in fictive personae were ones seen as fundamental to the central task of the professional secretary, namely speaking in a style and voice appropriate to the employer.

---

[51] *De epistulis*, in Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*, pp. 19–22.

‘REX CELI DEUS’: JOHN GOWER’S HEAVENLY MISSIVE

Georgiana Donavin

This essay relies on the foundation provided in Martin Camargo’s scholarship for work on medieval letters while it expands his discoveries in John Gower studies and finds new evidence of a connection between medieval letter writing and music.[1] ‘Rex Celi Deus’ is a poem of fifty-six lines written in 1399 to celebrate Henry IV’s ascent to England’s throne after the deposition of Richard II. There, John Gower forges an innovative conjunction of epistolary and musical conventions, as he combines structures and strategies

---

[1] From the bibliography of Martin Camargo’s scholarship, the following entries have been especially informative and inspirational. From Camargo’s books: *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English ‘Artes Dictandi’ and their Tradition* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995); *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, Studien zur Englischen Philologie, n.s. 28 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991); *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991). From his essays and articles: ‘Defining Medieval Rhetoric’, in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, Disputatio, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 21–34; ‘*Tria sunt*: The Long and the Short of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*’, *Speculum*, 74 (1999), 935–55.

Georgiana Donavin is Professor of English at Westminster College, where she teaches early literature and Latin. She has published several articles and a book (*Incest Narratives and the Structure of Gower’s Confessio Amantis*) on the fourteenth-century English poet John Gower, on whom she writes for this volume. Her most recent book is *Scribit Mater: Mary and the Language Arts in the Literature of Medieval England*. This *Festschrift* is one of several anthologies that she has co-edited, including the first volume in the Disputatio series, *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 103–123 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107451

taught in *dictamen* (instruction on prose letters) with the singing of a popular hymn.[2] The hymn, as I have discovered, is 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', one in a series of Gregorian chants about creation.[3] Although recent scholarship has promoted an ironic reading of Gower's poem, 'Rex Celi Deus''s deployment of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' creates a worshipful tone that invokes the coronation liturgy. So much of 'Rex Celi Deus', like a coronation, is cyclical and repeatable — a religious song about a king meant to be performed for various kingships — and yet so much is grounded in the expectations of epistolary discourse to a particular audience: in this instance, Henry, his God, and his court. John Gower addresses Henry IV in a poetic missive that might be chanted in order to speak to the king directly about the historical moment, locate late fourteenth-century politics in the context of God's reign, remark upon Henry's participation in the cycles of continuing creation, and emphasize the coronation's liturgical nature.

As demonstrated in my translation of 'Rex Celi Deus' in the Appendix to this essay, the poem begins with a prayer to the Creator that marvels over his work on the fourth day. God is the first principle and formal cause, whose mind-plans establish the laws governing the planets and whose Word brought forth creation (lines 1–9). After emphasizing God's reign over all, Gower transitions to Henry's rule and addresses him directly as '[p]ious king' (line 10). Further on in this essay, I will analyse the effects of this duplicate opening address — to both God and Henry. It was God's grace that brought Henry home to rule, Gower claims, just as the miseries of the previous reign had reached their culmination (lines 11–25a).[4] The second half of the poem dwells upon Gower's hopes that, now that God has chosen Henry as England's saviour, He might endow the English king with all good things — power, fame, a memorable progeny — and protect him from all evils — insidious counsel, tempting avarice, new rebellions. In the final six lines, featuring end rhyme to set them off as an epilogue and dedication, Gower presents himself as one among latter day *magi*, honouring the birth of a new kingdom and offering England's political redeemer a gift of words.

---

[2] 'Rex Celi Deus', in John Gower, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. by George C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899–1902), IV (1902), 343–44. Except where noted, I have represented the text of the poem as it appears in Macaulay's edition. More recently, R. F. Yeager has edited and translated the poem. See 'Rex Celi Deus', in John Gower, *The Minor Latin Works with In Praise of Peace*, ed. and trans. by R. F. Yeager, Middle English Texts Series Online, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/rytxt7.htm>, [accessed 8 August 2012]. Although I have consulted Yeager's translation, I offer my own and the new interpretations of the poem it suggests throughout this essay. My translations of both 'Rex Celi Deus' and 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' are in this essay's Appendix. Scholars agree that the poem was written about the time of Henry IV's election on 30 September 1399, perhaps written under pressure between the election and the coronation on 13 October of the same year. See 'Rex Celi Deus', in Gower, *The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. by Yeager, n. 1.

[3] 'Caeli Deus Sanctissime', no. 37 in *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Clemens Blume (Leipzig: Reisland, 1908), pp. 36–37. In the English Middle Ages 'caeli' might be rendered 'coeli', 'coili', or 'celi'. Since Gower chose 'celi' for the title of his poem, I am substituting the same word for Blume's 'caeli' in the hymn title. In any case, 'caeli' and 'celi' would both have been pronounced [ĉeli].

While Gower characterizes the gift of 'Rex Celi Deus' as 'vota' and 'verba' (lines 51, 55) — 'vows, prayers, or wishes' and 'words' — the history of 'Rex Celi Deus''s composition shows that he considered the poem to be a letter, or to form part of a letter. G. C. Macaulay, the great nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editor of Gower's works, observed the similarity between 'Rex Celi Deus' and the concluding section to one of Gower's earlier epistolary poems, the *Epistola ad regem*.[5] Indeed, Gower lifts more than half of the lines from the *Epistola*'s concluding section for 'Rex Celi Deus'. The *Epistola ad regem* is a *speculum principum* providing advice to a prince on regal conduct, and concluding with a poetic dedication to a king, so not only its phrases but also its overall structure and purpose surface again in 'Rex Celi Deus'. More recently, working from the lists of literature in manuscript and print by John Bale (1495–1563), David R. Carlson has posited that the *Epistola ad regem*, though currently not extant as a freestanding work, once circulated as an independent text. The *Epistola* consists of 518 lines, or as Carlson observes, 'it is of precisely the standard length to fit a single-booklet presentation manuscript'.[6] Contemporary scholars may find the earliest version of the *Epistola ad regem* integrated into Gower's major Latin poem, the *Vox Clamantis*, Book 6, lines 581–1198*, or Chapters 8–18A. In late, unauthorial manuscripts of the *Vox*, the *Epistola ad regem* concludes with a poem whose first line begins 'Rex celi deus', the same words providing the *incipit* for the Henrican praise poem under consideration here. A headnote in the unauthorial manuscripts containing the *Epistola*'s 'Rex celi deus' section indicates that the mirror for princes was intended to directly address the king, who was at this point the young Richard II: 'Here in the end of the *Epistola*, where the devoted subject begs for the welfare of the king, Gower asks that God preserve the youthful years of his majesty in all prosperity'.[7] Carlson's analysis suggests that in its earliest form, the *Epistola ad regem* with its epistolary epilogue beginning 'Rex celi deus' constituted a unified mirror for princes, meant for presentation to the boy king Richard. Later, Gower found a place in Book 6 of his multi-generic *Vox Clamantis* for this regal missive. When in 1399 he extrapolated twenty-one of the forty lines of the *Epistola*'s epilogue for the independent poem 'Rex Celi Deus', he may have excised the larger epistolary context for the poem, but he continued to deploy rhetorical strategies for letter writing.[8] As we shall see, the first eight lines that the *Epistola*'s conclusion and 'Rex Celi Deus' share are important for a musical allusion, as well as for the rhetoric of missives.

---

[4] Gower's support for the Lancastrian claim to the throne after the usurpation of Richard II has been much discussed. Nigel Saul distills and responds to two centuries of scholarship on the matter in 'John Gower: Prophet or Turncoat?', in *John Gower Trilingual Poet: Language, Translation and Tradition*, ed. by Elisabeth Dutton with John Hines and R. F. Yeager (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 85–97. I agree with Saul's argument that Gower's belief in kingly prerogative hewed very closely to Richard's — and to Giles of Rome's treatment of it in *De regimine principum* — but that the poet became disenchanted with the Ricardian reign upon realizing that although the king cast his majesty upon others, Richard failed to recognize another important teaching of Giles: that the king must rule himself. In 'Gower, Richard II, Henry of Derby, and the Business of Making Culture', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 68–96, Lynn Staley argues that Gower's change of allegiance must be seen in a larger context of political events unfolding over the course of many years, rather than as a response to a discrete historical event. By the time of 'Rex Celi Deus''s composition, of course, Richard had been deposed, and Gower seemed to look forward to the new order he hoped that Henry IV would establish.

[5] Gower, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Macaulay, IV, 416.

Since the quality of the address to the receiver is an important consideration for the rhetoric of letter writing, scholars have wondered how Henry IV received phrases originally intended for the monarch whose throne he usurped and what Gower intended in refashioning so many Ricardian lines for Henry in the 1399 version of 'Rex Celi Deus'. 'Rex Celi Deus' is, of course, not the only instance in which Gower revised Ricardian poems for a Lancastrian audience. Perhaps the most famous revision of this sort took place in the 1390s to the *Confessio Amantis*'s Prologue from which Gower excised a charming scene involving Richard's patronage and substituted a more straightforward dedication to Henry of Lancaster, who later became Henry IV.[9] For a coherent reading of Gower's works, it is important to sort out the rhetorical strategies and effects of such revisions. On recycling the *Epistola ad regem*'s conclusion in 'Rex Celi Deus', Carlson remarks: 'One might like to think that the irony implicit in readdressing to the new king monitory remarks formerly addressed to a deposed king — the gesture might be construed as a warning: as Richard, so Henry — may not have been beyond Gower's intention'.[10] Arthur W. Bahr has extended Carlson's observation on the potential irony in 'Rex Celi Deus' by analysing the poem's position in the Trentham Manuscript, a collection of Gowerian works in all three languages in which the poet composed — Anglo-French, Anglo-Latin, and Middle English — that many believe was presented to Henry IV upon his coronation.[11] Employing codicology as an interpretive method, Bahr suggests that 'Rex Celi Deus''s praise for Henry is undercut not only by the Ricardian lines in the poem, but also by the way in which Trentham's contents gradually retreat from fulsome addresses to the new Lancastrian lord. R. F. Yeager concludes that whether or not Gower intended irony in 'Rex Celi Deus''s Henrican praise, the pressure to produce a celebratory poem between Henry's election on 30 September 1399 and the coronation on 13 October of the same year may have led the poet to deploy verses he had written before.[12]

---

[6] David R. Carlson, 'Gower's Early Latin Poetry: Text-Genetic Hypotheses of an *Epistola ad regem* (*c.* 1377–1380) from the Evidence of John Bale', *Mediaeval Studies*, 65 (2003), 293–317 (p. 295).

[7] Quoted in Carlson, 'Gower's Early Latin Poetry', p. 300. The original Latin is as follows: 'Hic loquitur in fine istius Epistole, ubi pro statu devocius exorat, ut deus ipsius etatem iam floridam in omni prosperitate conservet'.

[8] In the copy of 'Rex Celi Deus' in the Appendix to this essay, I have marked with an asterisk the lines or partial lines that Gower extrapolated from the concluding poem of the *Epistola ad regem* in its earliest form. See also David R. Carlson, 'Introduction', in *John Gower, Poems on Contemporary Events: The Visio Anglie (1381) and Cronica tripertita (1400)*, ed. by David R. Carlson, trans. by A. G. Rigg, British Writers of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, 2; Studies and Texts, 174 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011), pp. 1–18, here p. 6: 'A passage on Richard II's youthful rule in Book 6 (*1159–*1198), for example, was later replaced, after Richard's deposition, with something more suitable to the changed circumstance (1159–1200); and the excised passage, reworked somewhat, was separately recirculated as a poem in praise of Henry IV's accession in 1399: the "Rex celi deus"'.

I am arguing, however, that we need invoke neither the ironic turn nor the haste of circumstance to explain 'Rex Celi Deus''s repetition of lines for both

---

[9] Macaulay's edition of the *Confessio Amantis* features the Lancastrian Prologue in the main page of the text and the Ricardian Prologue below. On the manuscript history and aesthetic value of both prologues, see especially Dhira B. Mahoney, 'Gower's Two Prologues to *Confessio Amantis*', in *Revisioning Gower*, ed. by R. F. Yeager (Asheville, NC: Pegasus, 1998), pp. 17–37, and Peter Nicholson, 'Gower's Revisions in the *Confessio Amantis*', *Chaucer Review*, 19 (1984), 123–43.

[10] Carlson, 'Gower's Early Latin Poetry', p. 304.

[11] Arthur W. Bahr, 'Reading Codicological Form in John Gower's Trentham Manuscript', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 33 (2011), 219–62. The Trentham Manuscript is London, British Library, Additional MS 59495.

[12] 'Rex Celi Deus', in Gower, *The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. by Yeager, n. 'Rex celi deus'.

Ricardian and Henrican addresses. This is to deny neither that Gower was hurried nor that the ironic interpretation is a legitimate and interesting reader response. However, it is to say that the combination of letter-writing practices aimed at a particular king and the allusion to hymn singing that will be discussed later in this essay generates a rhetoric that is both timely and timeless, in other words a liturgical rhetoric, and such liturgies apply without irony or compromise to all believing kings. Although Gower certainly excised or diminished references to Richard II in his poetry during turbulent cycles of the young King's reign, this practice does not necessarily indicate an increasing cynicism about regal power or undue wariness of how Henry might use it. Moreover, since Gower revised and redeployed portions of his own poetry so often, it would be reductive to see irony in every instance that the poet remastered Ricardian lines for the Lancastrian court. Rather, through epistolary conventions in the case of 'Rex Celi Deus', Gower impresses upon Henry their place in providential history and the monarch's obligations to God; through an allusion to the hymn 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', Gower contextualizes the historical moment in eternity and invokes a liturgy sanctioning Henry's government.[13] Since 'Rex Celi Deus' was composed around the time of Henry's coronation — itself a liturgy — what we have in this poem is neither a dashed-off effort nor a sly undermining of the new King, but rather a repeated use of language that might be sung for any legitimate king, and yet verses aimed at this particular King who must honour his own position in historical and cosmic cycles.[14]

---

[13] On contextualizing the historical moment in eternity, see Derek Pearsall, 'The Timelessness of *The Simonie*', in *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry*, ed. by O. S. Pickering (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 59–72 (pp. 64–65). See also Richard Newhauser, 'Historicity and Complaint in *Song of the Husbandman*', in *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, ed. by S. Fein, TEAMS (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 203–17.

[14] I agree with Jenni Nuttall that critics characterizing the work of late fourteenth-century authors who saw the transition of power to the Lancastrians as either implicitly rebellious or slavishly supportive offer too simplistic an analysis of a sophisticated political literature. See Jenni Nuttall, *The Creation of Lancastrian Kingship: Literature, Language and Politics in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 67 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Nuttall concludes: 'Early Lancastrian authors employed languages and idioms which were in the process of escaping from the control of their originators. They adopted the linguistic suggestions and propositions of royal authority, but made more ambiguous or unexpected use of them, transforming these discourses themselves into the subject of Lancastrian literature. They are not for or against the Lancastrian Crown but rather in conversation with it' (p. 5).

Appealing to Henry to consider his temporal and eternal roles, Gower manipulates epistolary rhetoric. Possibly introduced to dictaminal treatises through legal training, preferring Ovid over all other poets in his private reading, and mastering the *ballade* form that was often cast as a missive, Gower was familiar with professional and literary compositions structured as letters.[15] In the fourteenth century, *dictamen* might be taught in legal or grammar courses, with the aim of cultivating expertise in writing formal prose letters, often for bureaucratic or legal purposes. Dictaminal training sometimes included the *ars notaria*, focused on official documents and deeds. Although England could never boast an education in the *ars dictaminis* that equaled the sophisticated and in-depth teachings available on the Continent — especially in Bologna — and although English dictaminal training was passing out of fashion in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, England did have its *dictatores*, such as Thomas Sampson of Oxford, and Gower could have received instruction in formal, bureaucratic letter-writing before *dictamen*'s decline.[16] Becoming proficient in the composition of legal documents, Gower would have learned what Camargo calls 'the *dictator*'s lore': methods of stylistic variation, *cursus* (rhythms for clauses), and the five-part epistolary structure.[17] Although current scholarship is divided on whether Gower was a lawyer by profession, all agree to the significant contribution that legal discourse makes to his poetry.[18] Beyond preparation in law, Gower remained engaged throughout his adulthood with the poetry of Ovid, staple of the grammar school curriculum; scholars concur that Ovid is the fourteenth-century poet's most frequently quoted author. From the *Heroides*, for instance, Gower would have learned a sort of literary letter in which a compelling speaker pleaded her case. Furthermore, Gower lived and wrote during the flowering of the Middle English verse love epistle, the eponymous genre of Camargo's book that outlines so well the characteristics of these poetic missives. Camargo notes that Gower provided an important precursor to the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century poetic love letters in Middle English when the poet wrote epistolary *ballades* in the French tradition, the *Cinkante Balades*. Wherever and however John Gower studied and practiced letter-writing conventions, he proved his familiarity with them — and especially with the Ciceronian epistolary structure — in the *Cinkante Balades*.[19] Further evidence from the *Cinkante Balades* concerning Gower's investment in the genre of the epistle and its usefulness in addressing the new monarch is that the poet labels several of the *ballades* 'lettre[s]' and later dedicated the cycle in two opening verses to Henry IV. Significantly, both the *Cinkante Balades* and 'Rex Celi Deus' appear together in the Trentham Manuscript. In the beginning of his reign, then, Henry received several poems that Gower composed in epistolary form and addressed directly to the King.

---

[15] On Gower's possible legal training, John H. Fisher cites the poet's self-description in the *Mirour de l'Omme* beginning at line 24373 as a clerk wearing striped sleeves and use of legal terminology. See John H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), pp. 55–58. More recently, Candace Barrington has argued that the reference to the striped sleeves indicates the poet's role as a retainer-at-law, a legal advocate retained in a court. See Candace Barrington, 'John Gower's Legal Advocacy and "In Praise of Peace"', in *John Gower Trilingual Poet*, ed. by Dutton with Hines and Yeager, pp. 112–25 (p. 122). Embarking on a project to assimilate Gower's life records, John Hines, Nathalie Cohen, and Simon Roffey believe it 'highly plausible' that Gower studied at the Inns of Court. See John Hines, Nathalie Cohen, and Simon Roffey, '*Iohannes Gower, Armiger, Poeta*: Records and Memorials of his Life and Death', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. by Siân Echard (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 23–41 (p. 25). See also Robert Epstein, 'London, Southwark, Westminster: Gower's Urban Contexts', in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. by Echard, pp. 43–60, in which Epstein hypothesizes that Gower came to London in the 1360s when opportunities in royal bureaucracies and the law were on the rise. Epstein also discusses Gower's position as one of Chaucer's attorneys (p. 47). In addition, Matthew Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 99–105, argues that an extended invective against lawyers in the *Mirour de l'Omme* reflects some sort of direct experience with the legal profession and that the expertise Gower showed in drawing up deeds of property connected to the Septvauns affair indicates the poet's own legal training. As with speculations about Gower's legal training, there are too many discussions of Gower's debts to Ovid to detail completely here, but many have proven that Ovid was Gower's most-cited model and source. For a recent treatment, see T. Matthew N. McCabe, *Gower's Vulgar Tongue: Ovid, Lay Religion, and English Poetry in the Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011). In *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, Camargo notes Gower's mastery of the formal letter in the *Cinkante Balades*. See Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, pp. 35–45.

---

[16] Both Martin Camargo and Malcolm Richardson point out that the advancement and specialization of the legal profession in the late English fourteenth century actually contributed to *dictamen*'s demise, Richardson positing the important date of 1417, when Chancery clerks and common lawyers, who had earlier taken classes and lived in the same accommodations, were separated and chancery clerk training narrowed in focus and concentrated on simple writs, while lawyers delved into a specialized dictaminal theory that prepared important advocates and diplomats. See Camargo, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition*, p. 34; Malcolm Richardson, 'The Fading Influence of the Medieval *Ars Dictaminis* in England after 1400', *Rhetorica*, 19 (2001), 225–47 (p. 238); and Malcolm Richardson, *The Chancery under Henry V* (Kew: Index and List Society, 1999), pp. 56–71. For an analysis of dictaminal teaching in England after the life of Gower, see Richardson's essay in this volume, 'Ends and Beginnings in London Merchant Epistolary Rhetoric, *c.* 1460–1520'.

[17] Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature*, pp. 99–104; Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, p. 9.

[18] While the scholars cited in note 15 see the legal terminology and issues in Gower's poetry as proof of his legal profession, recently scholarship has returned to G. C. Macaulay's position that 'Gower was a litigant, but never a lawyer' (qtd from Conrad Van Dijk, *John Gower and the Limits of the Law* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), p. 3). See John Gower, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Macaulay, introductions to vols i, p. lxii, and iv, pp. ix–x. Like Macaulay, Van Dijk reads Gower's denigrating speeches against lawyers in the *Mirour de l'Omme* and the *Vox Clamantis* and sees the paucity of historical evidence as impediments to concluding that Gower was a lawyer. R. F. Yeager, currently writing a new biography of the poet, agrees.

'Rex Celi Deus' is addressed to the monarch, but only after it is directed to God. As we consider the epistolary structure of 'Rex Celi Deus', we find that the salutation is the most complicated and rhetorically manipulated part. In the poem's opening words, 'Rex, celi deus' (King, God of heaven), Gower's missive seems to begin with a prayerful salutation to God.[20] The completion of the opening appositive phrase, however, 'et dominus', rounding out the parenthetical description's full meaning of 'God and Lord of heaven', alerts us that Gower is not employing the vocative of direct address to his Creator. If Gower were speaking straightforwardly to God, he would have finished the phrase with 'et domine', but instead he uses the nominative case and follows with pronouns and verb conjugations for the third person singular. Therefore, 'Rex Celi Deus' opens with worshipful language about God spoken to another. Finally, by the tenth line and the conclusion of a long period, Gower arrives at the audience for such worshipful language and the true salutation — 'Rex pie' (pious king) — speaking to Henry openly in the vocative.[21] Both heavenly and earthly rulers are 'Rex', and the brief uncertainty over which one constitutes the audience for the poem is purposeful. The double positioning of 'Rex' in heavenly and earthly realms establishes the poem's master comparison between divine and human rulers: God has made Henry like Himself for the good of England, Henry is therefore obligated to serve God in this capacity, and as I show later, Henry is in fact an English Christ figure.

---

[19] Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, p. 41. For an analysis of the *Cinkante Balades*'s dating, see R. F. Yeager, 'John Gower's Audience: The Ballades', *Chaucer Review*, 40 (2005), 89–105. With their dedicatory verses to Henry IV, the *Cinkante Balades* occur with 'Rex Celi Deus' in the Trentham Manuscript.

[20] Throughout the essay, I will quote my own English translation. Please see the Appendix for a side-by-side presentation of the Latin poem and my translation. My rendering of the first line differs from Macaulay's and Yeager's reading of it. Both editors see 'Rex celi' and 'deus et dominus' as syntactical units (thus Yeager's translation 'King of Heaven, God and master') while I see 'celi deus et dominus' as a single appositive phrase reflecting upon 'Rex'. My reading highlights Gower's allusion to the hymn 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' by preserving 'celi deus' as a syntactical unit and sets off 'Rex' as a single word, since the poem emphasizes kingship.

[21] Michael Kuczynski discusses Gower's use of the phrase 'Rex pie' or 'pie Rex' to describe both Richard II and Henry IV. The first ten lines of 'Rex Celi Deus' occur in both the Ricardian *Epistola*, discussed earlier, and the independent Lancastrian poem that is the centrepiece of this essay. Kuczynski argues that through this phrase Gower compares his monarchs to 'pius Aeneas'

The brevity of the salutation to Henry as simply 'Rex pie' underscores the comparison between divine and human rulers. In contrast to the standard medieval epistolary salutation that names both the sender and the recipient of the letter in an order and style elaborately indicating the place of each in the social hierarchy, Gower addresses Henry with only a single complimentary adjective and mostly postpones the discussion of his own authorial identity. As Camargo puts it, in common practice 'the *salutatio* [...] acknowledged in very precise terms and in fairly complex ways a relationship of superiority, inferiority, or equality with the absent person addressed'.[22] By injecting himself only slightly in the *salutatio* with the verb 'queso' (I pray), however, Gower stands out of the way while shining a light on the bond between Henry and God. With 'queso', Gower enters the poem only long enough to resolve the tension concerning his point of view in the salutation. The concluding line of the period and the salutation proper — 'Te que tuum regnum, Rex pie, queso regat' (Pious king, I pray [God] may rule your reign) — sorts out the author's intention, the addressee, and the approach to prayer in this poem. It is only in the final six lines, however, set off by end-rhyme as a dedication, that Gower characterizes his relationship with his regal reader and completes the salutation. This delay in completing the salutation is a feature that Camargo has noted in the *Cinkante Balades*, where the poet saves introductory matter for the envoy.[23] In the final lines of 'Rex Celi Deus', to clarify his position with his regent, Gower offers a self-portrait: the poet is 'a poor man' on bended knee, offering his gift of words (lines 53–54). The belated, though appropriate, self-identifying image provides a substitute for the poet's absence; whether or not Gower was able to deliver 'Rex Celi Deus' in person, the self-portrait recreates a scene of the poet's epistolary speech wherever it is read. When instructed in the *ars dictaminis*, Gower

---

and establishes himself as a new Virgil praising a new Augustus. See Michael Kuczynski, 'Gower's Virgil', in *On John Gower: Essays at the Millennium*, ed. by R. F. Yeager (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), pp. 161–87.

[22] Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, p. 10.

[23] Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, p. 41.

would have learned that the salutation should render the document a substitute for the self and that the whole letter should imitate a Ciceronian oration, since it would be read aloud.[24]

Putting aside the complications of the salutation to Henry, we find that the rest of ‘Rex Celi Deus’ follows the classic structure for the medieval letter as taught in the *ars dictaminis*, a simplified version of the Ciceronian oration. The columns below outline the line numbers of ‘Rex Celi Deus’ and subject matters corresponding to the different parts of a medieval missive.

Lines 1 and 10, the *Salutatio*
The seeming and actual address: to God and then to Henry

Lines 2–9, the *Exordium*
Fosters Henry’s goodwill and interest through the use of scriptural authority

Lines 11–25a, the *Narratio*
Describes Henry’s return from exile and accession to the throne

Lines 25b–50, the *Petitio*
Expresses hopes that God may glorify and protect Henry’s reign

Lines 51–56, the *Conclusio* / Return to the *Salutatio* / Final *Petitio*
Offers Gower’s gift of words and his desire for Henry’s salvation

In the *exordium*, or *captatio benevolentiae*, Gower secures his King’s attention with references to God’s mighty works on the fourth day of creation. On that day, God established his rule over time, seasons, and the motions of earth, just as contemporaneously, He rules the progress of history and Henry’s position in it. Such an *exordium* provided the keynote to a letter in the *dictatores*’ teachings; as Camargo explains it,

> the *captatio benevolentiae* or *exordium* served an all-important first premise in an epistolary syllogism: for it one chose a proverb, *exemplum*, or *auctoritas* (scriptural or secular) that compelled wide-spread assent to a given course of action in given circumstances. If one chose well, it was then possible to show in the *narratio* that the present case belonged to a class of circumstances so specified and to conclude, in the *petitio*, that the desired course of action was reasonable and sanctioned by authority.[25]

[24] Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, p. 19.

[25] Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, p. 10.

For the *exordium* of 'Rex Celi Deus', Gower chose the scriptural authority of Genesis to prove God's power to make manifest His laws in the universe — on the fourth day and in Henry's day. From that premise, Gower's *narratio* of Henry's arrival and victory in England illustrates the continuance of God's guidance, of the divine intention to provide relief to the suffering kingdom, while Gower's *petitio* prays for the maintenance of divine support. Seeking protection and peace from God in the petition, rather than a favour from Henry, the poet demonstrates a further purpose for the salutation's double address. Just as the opening of the poem seems to pray to God on the way to addressing Henry, the long ending section addresses Henry while praying that God might shower all good things on the King's reign. As the *conclusio* makes the final petition for the King's salvation, provides a dedication to Henry IV, and completes the *salutatio* by explaining the author's relationship to the letter's addressee, Gower ends 'Rex Celi Deus' with the subject of the efficacy of words. If in the poem's and the earth's beginning the 'Word brought created things to be' (line 7), in the poem's end words endow a poor man with a gift suited for a king. Therefore, while 'Rex Celi Deus' follows a logical and linear structure taught in medieval texts on letter writing, the *artes dictandi*, it also has a circular aspect revolving around the comparison between God's creative Word and the poet's expression of hope for England's future.

Rotating with this circular aspect, we return to 'Rex Celi Deus''s beginning for a deeper inspection of the poem's rhetoric. In linking the creative Word of the opening prayer with the offering of words in the concluding dedication, we gather up the linear epistolary structure into a circlet corresponding to the poem's opening discussion of earth's 'orb' (line 5). The 'stable sway' of the 'orb' and the movements of the sun and planets through which, Gower believed, God established time continue to revolve and thus to create the glorious history in which Henry triumphs (lines 1–5). They also create the music of the spheres, a concept advanced by Pythagoras and promulgated by Plato in the *Timaeus*.[26] The opening spherical image of 'Rex Celi Deus' not only invokes music but is also musical itself since it refashions the well-known hymn 'Celi Deus Sanctissime'. The beginning prayer that initially seems to address the Lord forms a part of a chant that paraphrases this hymn. Like Gower's self-portrait at the end of the poem, the chant emphasizes an oral delivery of this heavenly missive, in this instance through the deployment of song.

---

[26] Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. by Benjamin Jowett, Internet Classics Archive, <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/timaeus.html>, [accessed 20 August 2012].

So far we have dwelled upon the larger contexts and structures that make 'Rex Celi Deus' a missive, but we will now consider the tuneful aspect of the poem and the impact of song on its dictaminal rhetoric. As Camargo has demonstrated in discussing Gower's use of generic and epistolary labels for the *Cinkante Balades* and as we have just seen in evaluating the epistolary organization of 'Rex Celi Deus', Gower applied dictaminal teachings that were meant for prose letter writing to verse, and he experimented in 'Rex Celi Deus' with a collusion between letter writing and chanting.[27] The deployment of song in 'Rex Celi Deus' provides a bridge between the genres of prose letter and coronation poem because while the *artes dictandi* taught *cursus*, a method for the rhythmical composition of prose, it is poetry — not prose — that can claim *musica* as an ally. By appropriating the popular hymn 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' in the opening eight lines of 'Rex Celi Deus', Gower underscores the missive's verse form (mostly unrhymed elegaic distichs), emphasizes the potential oral delivery by chanting, aligns his voice with an entire populace singing all together (line 40), and establishes a liturgical setting for his gift to Henry.

Gower draws attention to 'Rex Celi Deus''s musical allusion in the first phrase of the poem, which inserts the word 'Rex' in front of the hymn's easily recognized title 'Celi Deus', and thereby foreshadows a discussion of divine intervention with a king and characterizes God as the highest King. In the beginning of the poem, God's Word establishes time and history while Gower's use of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' celebrates Henry's time and historical moment with the liturgical practice of worshipful singing. We have noted before that Gower wrote the words 'Rex celi deus' and the first eight lines of the eponymous poem, with their adaptation of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', first for Richard II and later excised these verses for the independent poem for Henry IV around the time of the latter's coronation. It is the liturgical invitation of the hymn that makes these repeated lines appropriate for both kings: like the Gregorian chant 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', the language and song of the coronation Mass were to be performed similarly for both.[28] Gower implies in his deployment of

---

[27] Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, pp. 35–45.

[28] English coronations in Gower's time were performed according to centuries-old traditions that by the ceremony for Henry IV had been recorded in the *Liber regalis*. Common practices included a procession from Westminster Palace into Westminster Abbey, oath-swearing to and by the people, unction with holy oil, the coronation itself, reception of the coronation regalia, and acceptance of homage. See Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 130–31. For a detailed description of Richard's coronation, see Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New

'Celi Deus Sanctissime' and the repetition of lines for different regal contexts that the celebration and oaths written for each new king do not substantially change: it is God's support of the king's fealty that makes the difference. By connecting a chant to epistolary structure, Gower can sing of God's power to support, create a spiritual atmosphere inducing the new king's fealty, and establish a worshipful tone extending from the prayer-like *exordium* to the entreaties to God in the *petitio*.

We now turn to the hymn 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', copied and translated in the Appendix to this essay. Ruth Ellis Messenger narrates the hymn's transmission from Rome, where it was attributed to Gregory the Great, across Western Europe.[29] In the high and late Middle Ages, it was sung for vespers on Wednesdays; in England it was included in the Sarum Hymnal and later incorporated into Protestant worship through the sanction of Edward VI and, finally, its place in The Book of Common Prayer. In other words, many Catholics in Gower's London would have had an opportunity to hear or sing this hymn. The allusion to 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' manifests itself most noticeably in the first eight lines of Gower's poem, which happen also to be the longest block of repeated material from the *Epistola ad regem*'s original concluding address to Richard II, but themes from 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' continue to resonate throughout 'Rex Celi Deus'. The first three stanzas of the hymn celebrate heavenly light, the order of the planets, and the cycles of time and provide the matter for Gower's celebration of God's acts on the fourth day. As a component of 'Rex Celi Deus''s epistolary structure, the substance of these three stanzas occupies the *exordium*, and through references to Genesis 1. 14–19 offers the compelling scriptural authority that is necessary to 'capture the benevolence' of the hearer. Like 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', Gower's poem repeats the relative pro-

---

Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 25–26. Although he innovated by donning a closed crown, more like an imperial ruler, and by being anointed with holy oil believed to have been delivered to Thomas Becket by the Virgin, Henry IV largely observed the *Liber regalis*. See Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 107, and also *Liber Regalis*, ed. by W. H. Bliss (London: Roxburghe, 2012).

[29] For a discussion of the origins and transmission of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', see the following articles by Ruth Ellis Messenger: 'Hymns and Sequences of the Sarum Use: An Approach to the Study of Medieval Hymnology', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 59 (1928), 99–129; 'Whence the Ninth Century Hymnal?', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 69 (1938), 459–63; 'The Mozarabic Hymnal', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 75 (1944), 110–11. See also <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Hymni/CaeliDeus.html>, [accessed 18 July 2012].

noun 'qui' (who) to underline God as the authority over all cosmic action, spinning orbits and casting divine illumination. Infusing his narrative of creation on the fourth day with philosophical concepts, Gower substitutes the hymn's emphasis on the spread of heaven's 'fiery brilliance' for a stress on the perfection of the spheres, the Prime Mover, and formal causation. Gower invests 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' with the Platonic belief expressed in the *Timaeus* that God constructs a circular universe representing His perfection and with the Aristotelian construct of the 'primum mobile'. All together, the refashioned hymn sings the 'central conception of medieval cosmography', as described by Stephen H. Rigby, 'the claim that the universe was a material expression of an idea which had previously existed in the mind of God'.[30] In both the hymn and Gower's poem, we see attention to the creative Word that we have noted before, as the light or the divine intentions manifest themselves *in verbo*: in the former, God gives His 'sign' (line 12); in the latter, the 'Word [brings] created things to be' (line 7).

The final stanza of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' epitomizes the *narratio* and *petitio* of Gower's poem. Asking God to 'illuminate the heart of all humanity', the hymn's final stanza begins by suggesting a comparison between the Lord's casting of light to order the heavens and His continued guidance in the lives of mortals by illuminating souls and separating them from spiritual darkness (line 13). In the *narratio* of 'Rex Celi Deus', describing the history of Henry's triumph, Gower dramatizes how God became a guiding light in Henry's heart and inspired Henry to return home from exile to raise up the English nation. Gower depicts Henry's homecoming as a shift from night to day, as a corollary to the divine division between darkness and dawn: 'While Death hid in shadows from your brilliance, | Bright Life resurrected that which rules realms', the poet declares (lines 17–18). In his intervention in Henry's life, God continues the work of creation, and in responding to his vocation, Henry becomes England's salvation, a Christ figure. Both the poem and the hymn position themselves amidst God's mighty works, since 'Celi Deus Sanctissime', the third hymn in the series of chants about creation, is chanted on Wednesday, the middle point in the seven days of divine genesis, and 'Rex Celi Deus' captures a transition in English salvation history. In the *narratio* of Gower's poem, Henry IV compares with Jesus, the theological fulcrum who repositioned Judaeo-Christian history and law, as he participates with the Creator in mighty and salvific works and redeems England from a Ricardian hell. While in Galatians 4. 4–5, Jesus comes 'in the fullness of time', Henry of Lancaster, according to 'Rex Celi Deus', arrives at the peak of England's need and redirects a tragic English past into a triumphal future, a failing system of English governance to a haven of protection. Through Henry, Gower claims, 'we praise Christ', and it is Henry's 'knighthood', like Jesus's legendary harrowing of hell, that releases the people from 'every heavy evil' (lines 21, 15, 16). Indeed, Henry's homecoming from exile is characterized as an 'adventus', and just as Jesus rose from the tomb, the new Lancastrian lord raises others from 'the depth' (lines 13, 15). Gower develops the first line of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime''s final stanza in 'Rex Celi Deus''s *narratio* by figuring Henry as Christ and flooding the new king with lights that the Creator has cast about him.

---

[30] Stephen H. Rigby, *Wisdom and Chivalry: Chaucer's Knight's Tale and Medieval Political Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 239.

The *narratio* of Gower's missive, amplifying the first line of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime''s final stanza and typifying Henry as Christ, forms some of the new matter for 'Rex Celi Deus' which is not imported from the *Epistola ad regem*'s conclusion in the unauthorized *Vox*, and as the narration of circumstances explaining his rise to the throne, offers content most germane and appealing to Henry. The letter's structure moves, then, from the chanting of a familiar scriptural authority to a specific, though biblically typified, history and then outward to petitions that both glorify God and praise Henry. In the *petitio*, Gower expresses hope that God will keep Henry from sin, banish evil counsel, uplift the oppressed, and offer other blessings. The final line of 'Rex Celi Deus', raising the *conclusio* to its climax, delivers the ultimate petition that Henry might achieve eternal salvation. Through the *petitio* the poet expresses his twin aims of everlasting peace for Henry's soul and political peace for England. Gower's petitions for Lancastrian success mirror the last three lines of 'Celi Deus Sanctissime''s final stanza: 'Wipe away impurities of the mind, | Release the chain of guilt, | Dislodge the mass of crimes'. As the structure of 'Rex Celi Deus' proceeds from a chant about creation to salvation history to prayerful petitions, it mimics a liturgy that offers hymns, readings from Judaeo-Christian traditions, and prayerful responses.

By weaving the content of a hymn through his heavenly missive, Gower stands as cantor, invoking the divine presence in the *exordium*, focusing on his regal audience in the *narratio*, and inviting the entire English congregation to sing during the *petitio*. 'May happy England all together sing', he calls out amidst his petitions (line 40). Through song, Gower joins his own voice with that of all the people, and in order to underscore univocality, he has deployed with 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' a syllabic chant, one meant to be sung in unison. During his career as an author, Gower's narrator often mimics the *vox populi* /

vox dei, a biblical construction that offers the people's voice as an expression of God's will and especially recalls the gathering at Pentecost during which the disciples erupted with the 'good news' in many tongues. Matthew Giancarlo has connected Gower's utterances as *vox populi* to the poet's desire to appropriate a parliamentary voice, to articulate matters of English political consensus.[31] In 'Rex Celi Deus' Gower harnesses a pentecostal fervour and solidifies tenuous political agreements (especially tenuous, perhaps, when they refer to a usurpation) through a tight epistolary structure and a liturgical context. When all sing together, English voices ring in common purpose.

If Gower's poetic voice in 'Rex Celi Deus' is like that of a cantor, the liturgy to which he alludes is the coronation. 'Rex Celi Deus' gestures in a number of ways to the coronation ceremony: the opening chant establishes a spiritual atmosphere akin to what the king would have felt upon entering Westminster Abbey when the choir would be singing Psalm 122; references to the orb (line 5), sceptre (line 42), and crown (line 46) invoke the ceremony's investments; mentions of mutual support between the king and people reflect mutual oaths offered at the coronation (lines 40–56); and the larger message of the poem claiming God's reign as the foundation for the king's is the main point of the coronation liturgy. By opening 'Rex Celi Deus' with a refashioned Gregorian chant, inviting all England to sing along, and attaching these moments of song to an epistolary structure, Gower can celebrate God's sanctioning of the new king, include the people in this blessed event, and directly address Henry. The overall effect of 'Rex Celi Deus', then, is of language and music both representing eternal cycles and concentrating on a particular moment within them. The coronation of Henry IV to which the poem looks, like any liturgy, focuses on God's blessings from heaven, while at the same time speaks directly to the blessed.

In the final line of 'Rex Celi Deus' — 'Your kingship o'er, may heavn's Kingdom be yours' — Gower entreats God for the ultimate blessing for his sovereign in an expression that encapsulates the poem's blended dictaminal and musical rhetoric. The final line might be spoken directly to Henry IV or chanted in a worshipful attitude; it offers a petition both favourable to the regal audience and applicable to many legitimate rulers; it addresses Henry in his own time and sings of the hierarchy governing monarchs in all times. The final line underscores the point that when Henry's reign is over, God's Kingdom will continue to protect and guide the movements of creation as they are described in both 'Celi Deus Sanctissime' and Gower's poem. Gower appropriates the Gregorian chant so that all standing amidst divine constructions of time, whether in the choir singing about creation's fourth day for vespers or at Henry IV's coronation celebrating a pivotal political moment, can lend a voice to praise and express hope for England's Lancastrian saviour. Although the poet's desire for such English univocality was not realized, the rhetoric he constructed for 'Rex Celi Deus', employing both epistolary structures and the intoning of a hymn, ensures that his message of hope was delivered directly to Henry and that his song would replay through generations.

---

[31] Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature*, p. 51.

Appendix

Celi Deus Sancitissime[32]

Celi deus sanctissime,	*Most holy God of heaven,*
Qui lucidum centrum poli	*Who the bright region of the universe*
Candore pingis igneo	*Paints with fiery brilliance,*
Augens decori lumine,	*Adorning it with decorative light,*
Quarto die qui flammeam	*Thou, who on the fourth day*
Solis rotam constituens,	*Establishing the sun's flaming wheel,*
Lunae ministras ordini	*Attended to the course of the moon,*
Vagos recursus siderum,	*The recurring journeys of the stars,*
Ut noctibus vel lumini	*So that nights might be set off*
Diremptionis terminum	*In the beginning from day's end,*
Primordiis et mensium	*And of the months*
Signum dares notissimum,	*Thou might give a most familiar sign:*
Illumina cor hominum,	*Illuminate the heart of all humanity,*
Absterge sordes mentium,	*Wipe away impurities of the mind,*
Resolve culpae vinculum,	*Release the chain of guilt,*
Everte moles criminum.	*Dislodge the mass of crimes.*

---

[32] The Latin text on the left is reproduced according to Clemens Blume's edition in *Analecta Hymnica*. The English translation on the right is my own. I have adapted the punctuation offered for the Latin text so as to demarcate clause and phrase structuring in English. For an example of a more liberal translation of the hymn that is appropriate for singing, see <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Hymni/CaeliDeus.html>.

Rex Celi Deus[33]

*Rex, celi deus et dominus, qui tempora solus	*King, God and Lord of Heaven, who alone*
*Condidit, et solus condita cuncta regit,	*Established time, and alone creation*
*Qui rerum causas ex se produxit, et vnum	*Rules, Himself the formal cause of all things,*
*In se principium rebus inesse dedit,	*First Principle in Himself inhering,*
*Qui dedit vt stabili motu consisteret orbis,	*Who set our orb to rest in stable sway,*
*Fixus ineternum mobilitate sua,	*Fixed eternally in mobility,*
*Quique potens verbi produxit ad esse creata,	*Whose Word brought created things to be,*
*Quique sue mentis lege ligauit ea,	*And bound them by the law of His own mind,*
Ipse caput regum, reges quo rectificantur:	*Himself the head, rectifying all kings:*
Te que tuum regnum, Rex pie, queso regat.	*Pious king, I pray He may rule your reign.*
Grata superueniens te misit gracia nobis;	*Free, supervening grace sent you to us;*
O sine labe salus nulla per ante fuit;	*Before, no safety came without sickness;*
Sic tuus adventus nova gaudia sponte reduxit,	*But your homecoming surprised us with joy,*
Quo prius in luctu lacrima maior erat.	*Though lamenting and languishing in tears.*
Nos tua milicia pauidos releuauit ab ymo,	*Your knighthood raised us trembling from the depth,*
Quos prius oppressit ponderis omne malum.	*Whom before every heavy evil pressed.*
Ex probitate tua quo mors latitabat in vmbra,	*While Death hid in shadows from your brilliance,*
Vita resurrexit clara que regna regit.	*Bright Life resurrected that which rules realms.*
Sic tua sors sortem mediante Deo renouatam	*Your fate, thus, by God's aid our fate restores,*
Sanat et emendat que prius egra fuit.	*Renews and heals what before was diseased.*
O pie rex, Cristum per te laudamus, et ipsum	*O pious king, through you we praise Christ,*
Qui tibi nos tribuit terra reviua colit.	*God manifest in your revived England.*
Sancta sit illa dies qua tu tibi regna petisti,	*Blessed be the day when you sought her rule,*
Sanctus et ille deus, qui tibi regna dedit,	*And blessed be the one God granting it,*
Qui tibi prima tulit: confirmet regna futura,	*Paving your progress: may He your future*
Quo poteris magno magnus honore frui;	*Prove, when your greatness basks in great esteem,*
Sit tibi progenies ita multiplicata per euum,	*And your heirs multiply the ages through*
Quod genus inde pium repleat omne solum;	*So that a pious kind may fill all earth;*
Quicquid in orbe boni fuerit tibi *summus ab alto	*May the Highest on high rain down all good*
Donet, vt in terris rex in honore regas.	*So that you might reign in earthly honour.*
*Omne quod est turpe vacuum discedat, et omne	*May all evil depart empty-handed,*
*Est quod honorificum det deus esse tuum.	*And all merit God place in your good hands.*
*Consilium nullum, pie rex, te tangat iniquum,	*May no base Counsel reach you, pious king,*
In quibus occultum scit deus esse dolum.	*In whose unspoken part God hears treason.*

---

[33] John Gower, 'Rex Celi Deus', in Gower, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Macaulay, IV, 343–44. In the left column, I present the poem according to Macaulay's edition, although I have added extra line numbers, changed the punctuation to represent a stronger delineation between phrases and clauses, and placed an asterisk next to lines or partial lines that 'Rex Celi Deus' shares with the conclusion of the *Epistola ad regem*, as it appears in the *Vox Clamantis* 6. 18A, lines 1159–98. In the right column, I offer my own translation that turns Gower's (mostly) unrhyming elegiac distichs to a decasyllabic line. For a recent, more literal translation, see 'Rex Celi Deus', in Gower, *The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. by Yeager.

Absit auaricia, ne tangat regia corda	*Away with Avarice, let her not touch*
Nec queat *in terra proditor esse tua.	*Your royal heart, nor remain to betray.*
*Sic tua processus habeat fortuna perhennes,	*Thus, may your progress be perpetual*
Quo* recolant laudes secula cuncta tuas;	*So that all ages might recall your deeds;*
Nuper vt *Augusti fuerant preconia Rome,	*As the rhetors of Rome praised Augustus,*
Concinat in gestis Anglia leta tuis.	*May happy England all together sing*
*O tibi, rex, evo detur, fortissime, nostro	*Of your deeds, mightiest king; in our age*
*Semper honorata sceptra tenere manu:	*May the sceptre always rest in your hand:*
Stes ita magnanimus, quod vbi tua regna gubernas	*With liberality may you govern*
Terreat has partes hostica nulla manus;	*That no hostile band ignite rebellion;*
*Augeat Imperium tibi Cristus et augeat annos,	*May Christ increase your power and your years,*
*Protegat et nostras aucta corona fores;	*Protect us with strong gates shaped like your crown;*
Sit tibi pax finis, domito domineris in orbe,	*Peace be your goal, lord o'er a mastered world,*
*Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis:	*And all lesser things fall beneath your sway:*
Sic honor et virtus, laus, gloria, pax que potestas	*Thus may honour, strength, praise, glory, and peace*
Te que tuum regnum magnificare queant.	*Enable you and your reign to be great.*
Cordis amore tibi, pie Rex, mea vota paraui;	*With heartfelt love, pious king, I prepared*
Est qui servicii nil nisi velle michi,	*A prayer, because I wish to be of use.*
Ergo tue laudi que tuo genuflexus honori,	*Therefore, kneeling to your honour and praise,*
Verba loco doni pauper habenda tuli.	*I, a poor man, offer words for a gift.*
Est tamen ista mei, pie rex, sentencia verbi:	*And this, pious king, the sense of my speech:*
Fine tui regni sint tibi regna poli!	*Your kingship o'er, may heavn's Kingdom be yours!*

ENDS AND BEGINNINGS IN LONDON MERCHANT EPISTOLARY RHETORIC, *c.* 1460–1520

Malcolm Richardson

Even though a case has been made that the schools in the bourgeois cities of early Renaissance Italy — schools designed mainly to produce effective civil servants from merchant class students — were sources of Humanism,[1] the rhetoric of the contemporary northern European merchant class and its wider influence on writing and rhetoric have been little studied.[2] There are some perfectly plausible reasons for leaving the fishmongers and wool merchants out of rhetorical history: most of their surviving documents consist of straightforward financial accounts, records of debts and purchases, and other lists and can scarcely be classed as prose at all, much less rhetoric; much other merchant writing was a direct and open appropriation of the genres and rhetoric of the royal and ducal administrations; and above all, merchant rhetoric has never been put in the context of the other rhetorics of the time. No writing guides survive for the medieval merchant writer as they do for the Elizabethan

---

[1] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), I, 31–33.

[2] Malcolm Richardson, *Middle Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011), pp. 9–14.

Malcolm Richardson is Taylor Professor of English and Associate Dean of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences at Louisiana State University, where he has taught since 1986. His most recent book is *Middle Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (2011), and he has recently co-authored *Louisiana Linguistic History as Reflected in the Records and Practices of the Catholic Church, 1720–1955*, currently under review. His research interests are the intersections of rhetoric, language, and genre, especially in late medieval England.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 125–145 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107452

merchant,[3] for example, and the modern academic study of medieval rhetoric is to a large degree the study of treatises and textbooks for advanced students.[4] Most modern studies have applied textbook rhetorical theory to purely literary/religious medieval texts, and, regrettably, modern rhetoricians (unlike historical linguists) tend to share the same prejudices as our academic forebears against non-belletristic texts. Finally, the northern merchant class produced nothing even vaguely equivalent to the works of Boccaccio (an employee of the Bardi company) or Dante, even to the *ricordi* and other private texts by real Italian merchants like Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli.[5] Italian merchants — and sometimes their wives — were voluble writers, leaving us everything from business letters sent by professional courier services to company manuals to city histories, sometimes written in the special merchant handwriting, *mercantesca*.[6] The *ricordi* and other writings of merchants like Morelli and Donato Velluti are not always literary masterpieces, but then some are quite good, such as the history of Florence by Giovanni Villani (1276–1348) and his family. Effective writing was an urgent topic in Italy: in the early fourteenth century the celebrated rhetorician and professor Giovanni di Bonandrea gave public lectures at the Palace of Notaries in Bologna aimed at citizens, and in his textbook he included examples of written salutations to money-lenders, merchants, and notaries.[7]

This present paper, however, deals with English merchants, and there was no audience or venue for such lectures in English cities. Nor will this paper try to uncover a lost Boccaccio hidden in the humble pages of William Porland's Brewer's Guild book or argue that London merchants trundled home to read the English clergyman Thomas Merke's *De moderno dictamine* to hone their letter-writing skills. It will look rather at two aspects of English merchant rhetoric which should be of interest in histories of rhetoric. One is the unexpected appearance in fifteenth-century guild documents of prose narrative. If English merchants did not exactly produce a rival to Malory or their Italian peers in narrative skills, their corporate records reveal, among the prevailing greyness, that competent and even imaginative narrative was possible despite the hobbles of the corporate/legal rhetoric of record-keeping conventions. A second and more important moment in the history of rhetoric is the severing by the merchant classes of the long-standing connection with the dictaminal epistle as a preferred genre for business documents. The Cely family of merchants, who left us 'the only known sizeable collection of medieval [middle class] private papers to have been preserved in England',[8] illustrate in their extensive papers that until past the 1460s, merchants usually cast their contracts, bonds, petitions, and other commercial genres in the form of a dictaminal or quasi-dictaminal letter, just as did the city of London, the royal administration, and the Church.[9] Yet by 1500 merchants were shedding the long-standing letter-based format, or at least were quickly turning to Continental genres which were largely purged of dictaminal epistolary residue. What happened, in fact, was the breaking of the ancient tradition of the personal relationship — real or pretended — established by a written commercial document. In any case, I hope to correct the impression sometimes found in histories of rhetoric that all moments of critical change worth recording were products of the universities and churchmen.

---

[3] John Browne, *The Marchants Avizo*, ed. by Patrick McGrath (Boston: Baker Library, 1957).

[4] Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 5.

[5] *Merchant Writers of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by Vittore Branca, trans. by Murtha Baca (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1999); Angelo Cicchetti and Raul Mordenti, *I libri di famiglia in Italia* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Memoria Familiare, 1985); Christian Bec, *Les marchands écrivains: Affaires et humanisme à Florence, 1375–1434* (The Hague: Mouton, 1967).

[6] Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002), pp. 16–29, 52–54; Stephanie H. Jed, *Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 91.

[7] J. R. Banker, 'The *Ars dictaminis* and Rhetorical Textbooks at the Bolognese University in the Fourteenth Century', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 5 (1974), 156–67.

Rhetoric and Merchant Education

Before looking at these two points in more detail, let me begin with a brief overview of the relationship of the English merchant class to writing and rhetoric beginning in the early fourteenth century or even earlier, speculate where rhetorical education took place, and note the general *ethos* favoured in merchant writing. Favourable intentions towards civic eloquence are found at the beginning of London record-keeping in the early fourteenth century. Good rhetoric earned an official endorsement from Andrew Horn, the celebrated compiler of London's early custumals, bound volumes containing the history, laws, practices, and administration of the city. Horn included in his notes about choosing London's mayor sections of Brunetto Latini's 'Tresor' on choosing a ruler.

---

[8] Kew, The National Archive, C47/37, Stonor and Cely Papers, shelflist, p. 3.

[9] *The Cely Letters, 1472–1488*, ed. by Alison Hanham, EETS, 273 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Following Latini, Horn quotes Aristotle and Cicero and observes that a quality to be sought in a leader is that he 'speak better than anyone else', thoughtfully including a sample speech for the mayor's last day in office.[10] Nothing seems to have come out of Horn's idealism, and Aristotle, Cicero, Latini, and rhetorical advice receive very little attention indeed in the custumals of later chamberlains and city clerks. It is, of course, an unavoidable fact that we don't know anything significant about the mayors' speeches, or for that matter, much about what was spoken by the aldermen, the guildsmen and women, or even the members of the elusive fourteenth-century literary association known as the *Pui*, which disappeared without leaving a literary trace. Or rather we know what some of these said; we just don't know how they said it. One reason why there was so little public eloquence of the kind Italian citizens hoped Bonandrea might impart to them might be reflected in a London proclamation of 1391 that the aldermen

> have ordained and established that no man, great or small, of whatever estate or condition he be, shall speak henceforth, or agitate upon any of the opinions […] or shall by sign, or in any other manner, shew that such person is of one opinion or the other. But let the folks […] be of one accord in good love, without speaking, any person to another, on the said matter, in manner of reproof or hatred; on pain, if any one shall speak or do against any of the points aforesaid, of imprisonment […] for a year and a day, without redemption.[11]

Such an attitude among the ruling class might dampen the ambitions of any would-be Cicero of Cheapside, while other evidence similarly suggests that London public speech was scarcely of the give-and-take variety imagined by the ancient rhetoricians.

If spoken evidence is lost to us, merchants left copious examples of their writing, nevertheless: besides the voluminous *Letters Books* of the city of London, about a quarter of the older guilds still have records preserved from before 1400 and about half before 1500.[12] Whatever stereotypes of illiterate medieval merchants may still persist, by 1400 English medieval merchants were enmeshed in a world of written documents almost to the degree of their modern counterparts. While they were generally unable to write fluently and used scribes to frame and pen documents for them, most had practical reading skills, especially by the fifteenth century.[13] Moreover, they did not approach written documents lightly. By the fifteenth century, especially, the primacy of written documents over oral testimony was well established in merchant courts as well as in the royal courts.[14] City courts were essentially merchants' courts, populated by the leading merchants and dealing largely with commercial and debt issues, either within the city or with other cities. City and guild records show abundantly that records were being maintained carefully by all corporate bodies and written documents were retrieved and used as evidence in corporate merchant courts in the same way as in the chancery or any royal court. Over the course of the fifteenth century, especially, guilds followed the example of the cities and began collecting their ordinances and other important records into bound volumes, some quite elaborate.[15] The wealthier and more sophisticated guilds knew the value of literacy (as it was then conceived) and numeracy. The Goldsmiths, for example, made a surprisingly enlightened statement in their ordinances in 1469:

---

[10] *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber albus, Liber custumarum, et Liber Horn*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859–62), II, 16–24.

[11] H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life* (1868), p. 526, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57731>, [accessed 29 September 2012].

[12] *City Livery Companies and Related Organisations: A Guide to their Archives in Guildhall Library*, 3rd edn (London: Guildhall Library, 1989), p. 1.

> It has been the practice for almost every member of the fellowship of goldsmiths of London to take apprentices who can neither read nor write, which is a practice damaging not only to the fellowship, but to the master taking such apprentices and to the apprentice himself, because it is unreasonable to expect an illiterate child or man to have as much understanding by wit and observation as a child or man who has both practical experience and can read. [...] Also, for want of such literacy, members of the fellowship are not held in esteem by the merchants of the city of London or favoured by lords and gentlefolk as are literate men of other fellowships of the city to the great discredit of this fellowship.[16]

Apprenticeship agreements often contained a requirement that the apprentice be taught to read, and a failure on the part of the master to do so was grounds for dissolving the apprenticeship. The fifteenth-century tailor Robert Archer was one of numerous masters hauled into his guild court for not sending the same apprentice to 'scole, contrary to the endentures and covenauntes bytwene the said Archer and his apprentice'.[17] A model letter by the London writing teacher William Kingsmill has a twelve-year-old apprentice boasting to his parents that Kingsmill has taught him to read, write, and speak French.[18] (Kingsmill was likely training a scrivener, however.) The little evidence we have suggests that English schoolboys were taught to 'rede, write, and lay Accomptes suffisauntly' enough to succeed in their profession, with no frills added.[19] Merchants' children and apprentices got little beyond homiletic material like the *Distichs of Cato* mentioned in *The Miller's Tale* as basic learning texts. Rhetoric was not a school subject except as it appeared by chance in the Latin sentences drilled into the students for imitation.[20]

---

[13] Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 239–40; Caroline Barron, 'The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honor of Barbara Harvey*, ed. by John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 219–35.

[14] Richardson, *Middle Class Writing*, pp. 35–37.

[15] Richardson, *Middle Class Writing*, pp. 31–49.

[16] T. F. Reddaway, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths Company, 1327–1509* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), pp. 261–62.

But while rhetoric had very little role in formal merchant education, the rhetoricians did manage to infuse themselves into the broader education of a tailor or mercer in at least two ways. The first was through persistent exposure to sometimes highly ornate religious texts and preachings. Echoes of biblical and ecclesiastical rhetoric are found in guild records, especially, notably when someone is being particularly praised or condemned. Secondly was through dealing with the documents essential to carrying out their trades and practice as they worked in the guild halls with professional documents based on dictaminal principles. The infusion of a limited but real set of rhetorical skills through professional life was a long and irregular process. The workplace and the guildhall became ad hoc schools for the more alert and the more elite, who used their ears and brains rather than their pens to create and shape documents. As Sheila

---

[17] *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London 1486–1493: Court Minutes*, ed. by Matthew Davies (Stamford: Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2000), pp. 197–98.

[18] Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300–1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 159; Nigel Ramsay, 'Scriveners and Notaries as Legal Intermediaries in Later Medieval England', in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Jenny Kermode (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), pp. 118–31 (p. 124); Martin Camargo, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English 'Artes Dictandi' and their Tradition* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), p. 25. Kew, The National Archives, E 315/330, Formulary of William Kingsmill, 1431–43.

[19] Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders, *History of the Merchant Taylors Company* (Leeds: Maney Publishers, 2004), p. 107.

[20] Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999), pp. 73–85; James J. Murphy, 'Rhetoric in Fourteenth-Century Oxford', *Medium Ævum*, 34 (1965), 1–20 (p. 12).

Lindenbaum has observed, 'even Londoners who could not read would have a pragmatic knowledge of many textual forms. They would be familiar with religious tracts and sermons read aloud in the household, the civic regulations recited at wardmotes, all manner of legal documents concerning property-holding and trade, royal proclamations and wills'.[21] The best illustration of this range is found in the *Letter Books* of London, essentially a chronological collection of the documents that flowed in and out of the mayors' courts, beginning in 1275.[22] By the middle of the fourteenth century at the latest, the *Letter Books* illustrate the citizens reading, studying, creating, and (sometimes) editing a considerable variety of genres, including petitions; royal letters; charters; bonds; apprentice agreements; recognizances of debt; inspections of property, streets, bridges, and shipping; guild ordinances; letters from English and foreign cities; safe conducts; and the critical city charters granted to them by the king. London, British Library, MS Royal 17 B XLVII, a mid-fifteenth-century formulary and writing guide for a scribe or secretary for the London upper-middle classes, shows an astonishing range of documents. While the creation of such documents by the kind of scribe who might own such a manuscript might mislead us into thinking that what we read is wholly the work of scribes rather than their merchant employers, references in the guild records indicate that document creation was, to some extent, a communal activity. (I say 'to some extent' because standard genres like safe conducts and concordances would scarcely require more than an agreement from those present, and the scribe could do the rest.) Genres like petitions, responses to royal letters, letters to the corporations of other cities, and others requiring some thought and tact were the result of group consultation, albeit usually a group of city leaders in one of the mayor's courts. We have reasonably clear evidence from guild records also that this was the case. Guild records note frequently enough that a document has been read aloud to the assembly. In 1472, the Mercers, for example, agreed to assign an office to William Byrche after a letter recommending him was 'read, well perceived, and understood'.[23] Guild ordinances were by statute read aloud in meetings several times a year, and at least once in every generation, they had to be revised and presented to the civic or royal authorities for renewal. If in practice many were the work of a handful of masters or alderman and the scrivener or company clerk, the constant — usually annual — revolving of guild and city officers meant that a significant portion of the upper-middle-class males were involved in wording and editing documents. The upper ranks of the merchants, especially, became familiar with dictaminal rhetoric by hearing and participating in the creation of documents protecting their own corporate interests, answering the demands of the royal administration, and approving their own decisions about what we would call 'company policy', not to mention sewers, dilapidated walls, old age pensions, and obstructions on the river. By the next century, most English merchants were deeply enmeshed in a web of dictaminal documents, although England was never a dictaminal 'documentary culture' as found in some Italian cities, where dictaminal training was the backbone of education. Ralph Hanna characterizes Latini's description of the ideal mayor found in Andrew Horn's *Liber Custumarum* 'as a man constructed by rhetorical/dictaminal culture', so the idealistic Horn was vainly hoping to import something that conflicted with English bourgeois culture and its laissez-faire attitude about education.[24]

---

[21] Sheila Lindenbaum, 'London Texts and Literate Practices', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 284–309 (p. 287).

[22] *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*, ed. by Reginald R. Sharpe, 12 vols (London: The Corporation, 1899–1912).

[23] *Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes; Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company 1453–1527*, ed. by Laetitia Lyell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 555.

Aside from assertions of city or professional pride and a desire for good governance found in guild ordinances and custumals like Robert Ricart's for Bristol, the preponderance of the rhetoric of the city and the guild documents differs little from that of royal documents, either in genre or in *ethos*. Still, of the overarching rhetorical purposes of the major documents used in merchant culture, two seem particularly notable. The first is what Ian Archer has called 'the rhetoric of antiquity', while I prefer 'the rhetoric of stasis', *stasis* being used in this case in the non-rhetorical sense of forces being balanced so well that there is no motion possible.[25] More directly, it means that events tend to be explained in a way that connects them with an ancient and unchanging history, and change itself is similarly explained away to show that it is not actual change but continuity under another guise. As is well known, such a 'God's eye' approach imbued nearly all aspects of medieval culture. Georgiana Donavin's article in this volume, for example, explains succinctly the way John Gower incorporated this way of looking at a closed, rational universe into a coronation poem justifying (indirectly) Henry IV's usurpation of the throne. Applied to more mundane matters of civic life, the approach seems distinctly like overkill to modern readers. For example, the section of the *Liber albus* on removing stationary fishing devices in the Thames and Medway begins with the founding of London as New Troy by King Brut 'in the year from the beginning of the world 4032 and before our Lord's Incarnation 1200', all this to justify cleaning up obstructions in the river.[26] Another important rhetorical purpose passed from state to city to guild, one much studied, is contained in the rhetoric of the commonweal. The goal was, in the words of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 'to chaunge discords and debates into tranquyllite, pees and gode accorde'.[27] Appeals to the commonweal are a frequent trope in guild petitions to the city, where the motives of perceived malefactors to the trade are depicted in the most sinister terms, while the guild is shown as acting out of the purest motives for the common good of all Londoners.[28] The ordinances submitted by the Cutlers in 1380, for example, make themselves sound like a public service organization, for they were created 'to the honour of God as to the common profit both of all the realm and of the said city'.[29] From about the same period (1398), the Leathersellers are also vexed by the 'deceit of the common people',[30] while the Glovers (1349) wish their ordinances 'to be hold as firm and established for ever [...] to the great profit of all the common people'.[31] Such altruism is rarely found in the ordinances maintained within the craft, of course, which are presented in the rhetoric of no-nonsense self-sufficiency. (One scholar commented that the Goldsmith's charter describes trade conditions that 'are more appropriate to a film noir than fourteenth-century London'.[32]) As will be illustrated below, the rhetoric of the minutes of a guild court emphasizes the common good and reconciliation but also, behind it all, 'insistence on submission to its will'.[33] Unsurprisingly, the effect was that there was very little change in form and content for a very long time. As Lindenbaum notes, 'These factors, along with the ordinary citizens' belief that the city record-keeping apparatus was in some sense their own, ensured that the focus would be on revalidating rather than radically changing existing documentary forms'.[34]

---

[24] Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 88.

[25] Ian Archer, 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 205–26 (p. 207).

---

[26] *Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*, trans. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Richard Griffin, 1861), p. 437.

[27] A. H. Thomas and P. E. Jones, *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926–61), v, p. viii.

[28] Liana Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade in the Medieval Writing* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 162–29; S. H. Rigsby and Elizabeth Ewan, 'Government, Power, and Authority 1300–1540', in *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, 3 vols (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), i, 291–312.

[29] 'Memorials, 1380', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Century*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longmans Green, 1868), pp. 438–47 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp438-447>, [accessed: 15 September 2008].

[30] 'Memorials 1398', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Century*, ed. by Riley, pp. 546–52, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp546-552>, [accessed 29 September 2012].

[31] 'Memorials, 1349', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Century*, ed. by Riley, pp. 244–47 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp244-247>, [accessed: 15 September 2008].

Narrative in Guild Documents

But there was change, inevitably. Medieval London guild records have not been well preserved, many being either lost by the companies or destroyed in the Great Fire, so general statements about these changes have to be expressed cautiously. The Merchant Taylors, Mercers, and Goldsmiths have the best-preserved medieval records, although others, like the Grocers, have a significant manuscript book or two in the Guildhall Library.[35] All guild books record mainly lists of members and apprentices, fines to members, ordinances, and the decisions of the 'courts' of the masters. Nevertheless, as the fifteenth century progresses we find entries which may be considered genuine narratives. 'Narrative' is a contested term, but here I regard a narrative, following Aristotle and (somewhat) Freytag, as having in terms of structure a plot, character, rising and falling action, and resolution, and in terms of style dialogue and characterization through discourse, and finally a point of view.

Narratives of a particular kind were already a part of many royal and especially legal documents — describing a dispossession or murder, for example — and it was natural that the guilds would imitate this narrative style as they assimilated many of the genres of the royal and city administrations. However, telling a story while encumbered by dictaminal and legalistic stock phrases of the royal administration was not an easy task, even for the well-trained scribes of the chancery. Besides the prolixity added by legal phraseology ('the said John'), writers were even more hampered by the need to fit a narrative within the 'whereas-wherefore' format of the dictaminal epistle. This hypotactic or dictaminal structure (see below) integral to so many official genres likewise became an encumbering characteristic of other types of writing, such as guild minutes, minus the epistolary greeting and closing. Thus a simple act recorded by the Mercer's company reads in part:

---

[32] Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade*, p. 163.

[33] *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London*, ed. by Davies, pp. 25, 27.

[34] Lindenbaum, 'London Texts and Literate Practices', p. 287.

[35] *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London*, ed. by Davies; *Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes*, ed. by Lyell; *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London 1334–1446*, ed. by Lisa Jefferson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); *A Facsimile of First Volume of MS. Archives of the Worshipful Company of Grocers of the City of London* A.D. *1345–1463*, ed. and trans. by John Abernathy Kingdon, 2 vols (London: Richard Clay, 1883–86).

> Whereas was showed by the Master Wardens that the lords of the Kings Council had sent commandment that they who had not brought in their bills of subsidy as commanded, wherefore the master wardens gave now again warning unto the company.[36]

Still, it is in the guild court minutes alone that we find the occasional examples of merchant narrative, at least as filtered through the hands of the company scribes. It is true that the narratives are often marred, by modern standards, by awkward use of stringy, paratactic sentences, the tiresome interjection of heavy-handed moralizing about the ungodly and sinful behaviour of those who defy the company, and frequent emphasis on obvious points about how the rules are being broken, and — the problem of many real-life tales — that the conclusion is anticlimactic. However, we are not dealing with a Maupassant short story, and there are moments of vivid writing to indicate either that the merchants were not such dullards as is sometimes thought, or that their clerks and scriveners enjoyed a very rare opportunity to let loose with a good tale instead of recording the humdrum judgements of their masters.

Effective narratives found as early as the 1420s likewise suggest that switching the records gradually to English liberated the scribes' writing skills, at least for those scribes with an imagination and a merchant audience which might enjoy seeing (or rather hearing) their struggles so well commemorated in writing. Before the 1420s, the court minutes in French or Latin tend be laconic: they record only in general terms the problem or offence being considered followed by the decision of the masters, and, in practice, this continues to be the typical pattern of court minutes throughout the period in all languages. For example, we know the general charges but not the details of the many offences committed by the Goldsmith John Corby, whose combative personality earned many deprecating entries in the Goldsmith's minutes for thirty years or more, until he was finally 'expelled, ousted, and removed from the aforesaid company' in 1420. Had Corby been carrying out his shenanigans after the 1420s, however, we might know details of the guild's version of a story, for about that time the Goldsmiths, like a number of other guilds, began expanding (in some cases) the story behind the charges, not coincidently as they began keeping records increasingly in English. Although Latin and especially French remained the normal language of many entries until later in the century, the last entry concerning Corby in 1420 is in English, and the late teens of the fifteenth century mark the beginning of the change to English records.[37]

---

[36] *Merchant Taylors' Court Minutes*, ed. by Lyell, p. 372.

After the early 1420s more extended descriptions are found which are true narratives, invariably in English. The clerk of the Brewer's Guild, William Porland, left at least two vivid descriptions of contentious meetings during preparations for the funeral of Henry V between the mayor and aldermen and the Brewers over the price of beer and accusations of keeping the price of malt artificially high, descriptions which make ample use of direct and indirect quotations. Although the 'plot' is thin here, Porland skillfully weaves the discussions into the detailed narrative of the King's interment and the Brewer's role in it.[38] Here is a slightly abridged (and modernized) version of a narrative from the Goldsmith's records written in 1425–26, which shows briefly the strengths and limits of some of the fuller narratives. In this excerpt the goldsmith John Hilles goes to chastise his apprentice John Richard 'for various great offenses and misdeeds', but the apprentice, seeing the angry Hilles approaching the shop,

> of very malice and cursedness as an obstinate apprentice forthwith went up a staircase outside the shop carrying with him a short spear which he hid in the kitchen, intending to kill his master (this 'spear' was used to open and shut the windows of the shop). And when he had done that, he came down again in the middle of the staircase and he most contemptuously and wickedly insulted his master and said to him, 'Come on then, for it is high time and I am prepared for thee, and, God help me, thou shalt never enter thy chamber'. And his master, in order to avoid any danger to either of them, went straight out of his house and arranged for the same apprentice to be arrested forthwith and brought to the Counter' [the prison of the mayor's court]. And in the end of his own free will and his own consent [the apprentice] chose to forswear the mistery and the City.[39]

---

[37] *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books*, ed. by Jefferson, pp. 279, 346, 390–98.

[38] *A Book of London English, 1385–1425*, ed. by R. W. Chambers and Marjorie Daunt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 140–46.

[39] *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books*, ed. by Jefferson, pp. 426–31.

From another set of records, in 1492 the Merchant Taylors were dealing with a recalcitrant member named John Heed, a particularly obstreperous individual. The company clerk, the talented scrivener Henry Mayour, seems to luxuriate in the verbal interplay, part of which follows in an edited sample (modernized). After much arguing in direct and indirect dialogue in which Heed refuses what is asked of him and makes belittling comments about the Master's conduct while in office, the Master again orders him to appear, with much the same results:

> At which day limited the said Mr. Heed came to the Taylors' Hall, and at his coming thither the Master demanded him why he delayed to seal his obligation according to his promise. Whereunto the said Mr. Heed answered precisely that he would not seal, albeit though that he had promised before to seal it he would revoke it, for his counsel advised him to do so, and [said] that Stephen Jenyns should not be his judge, not the Master neither, for Stephen Jenyns had caused him to lose £37. And thereupon the Master answered, 'Sire, I must be your judge this year'. Then the said Mr. Heed said 'Sire, you take too much upon you, for I have sat in the [office] as well as you now do and was as able thereto, for I may expend £30 by year as long as I live and you take upon you more than you need, and so will twenty more say as well as I!' [...] Whereupon the Master said, 'Sir, [if] you using no better conditions nor demeanor than you do now, it is pity that you ever bore the [office] or worship in this fellowship as you have done'. The said Mr. Heed answered him uncharitably, saying in this wise, 'It is more pity that you sit in that [office] that you sit in, and so more say as well as I'. Whereupon the Master [...] caused certain ordinances and statutes [...] to be read which the said Mr. Heed had offended contrary to his oath, demanding of him whether he would abide by the said ordinances or not. The said Mr. Heed answered saying, 'Sir, I know these ordinances as well as you do, but I will not abide nor fulfill them!'[40]

Eventually in both these examples the disputes so rendered in such a lively style are predictably resolved by the masters, troublemakers are reconciled to the group, and the 'rhetoric of stasis' prevails — the order of guild life is ruffled but continues its predetermined course. And in both examples, the use of direct and indirect speech, corroborating detail, a clear ordering of experience into a time sequence, and a plot all make these entries narratives by most definitions, and narratives which impose an implied order on its world and, moreover, an (obvious) attempt to guide the reader's response.

---

[40] *The Merchant Taylors' Company of London*, ed. by Davies, pp. 207–10.

Hypotaxis, the Epistle, and the Letter of Exchange

One of the oddities — at least to us — of so many medieval official and business documents is that they are cast in the form of an epistle from one person to one or more others, leading one eminent historian to write that 'the majority of [surviving English private] fourteenth-century letters were little more than the business communications of the established and literate section of society'.[41]

We should be clear from the outset that the epistolary genres used professionally by merchants in all of northern Europe and to some extent in Italy had little to do with the *ars dictaminis*, which is sometimes cited as an influence on private letter-writing. As Martin Camargo's concise but definitive study of the *ars dictaminis* illustrates, the academic study of letter writing was an intense but relatively short-lived enterprise which was restricted to university faculties and churchmen. In general, the official epistolary structures and styles shared among English royal, civic, and merchant classes are best seen as running parallel to, rather than in a direct line from, the academic interest in letter writing discussed in modern rhetorical histories.[42] The merchants whose professional lives centred on the markets in the Low Countries and northern France, whether writing in French, English, or other languages, were following epistolary conventions that pre-dated that codification and theorization of letter writing found in the treatises about the *ars dictaminis*. This merchant class was as far from knowing or caring about Alberic of Monte Cassino as it was from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Camargo has shown how several generations of English business-writing teachers like Kingsmill and Thomas Sampson taught epistolary and legal skills to aspiring secretaries and stewards,[43] but Camargo correctly draws a careful distinction between the pared-down dictaminal theory found in these treatises and those found in true *ars dictandi*.[44] His term for this type of training, 'paralegal', is apt, since students of Sampson and the others were preparing to write conveyances, bonds, and other specialized documents.

---

[41] John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 218.

[42] James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 194–268; Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 29–41.

[43] Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, p. 37; H. G. Richardson, 'An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, 23 (1939), 436–57.

[44] Martin Camargo, 'If You Can't Join Them, Beat Them; or, When Grammar Met Business Writing (in Fifteenth-Century Oxford)', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 67–87 (pp. 72–73).

In practice most private citizens, scriveners, and attorneys simply wrote most of their documents, ranging from private letters to bills of sale, largely in imitation of the structure and wording of the royal epistle, which by 1400 had a long French and Latin history.[45] In retrospect, imitation of the royal epistle seems inevitable: it was formulaic, short, simply structured, easily imitable, prestigious, and, equally important, familiar to all merchants. Royal epistles were delivered regularly to the city and guilds from the king's Signet or Privy Seal Offices and in some cases to private citizens. They were thus seen, read aloud, and entered into the records of city and guild courts; they are found in nearly all city or guild records. The royal epistle followed an all-purpose epistolary structure.[46] In outline, it runs roughly like this:

> Trusty and well-beloved, I greet you well / recommend myself to you [...] whereas [this is the case], [...] wherefore [I ask or request you to do something]. And God have you in his keeping. Written at [place], the [date].

Among the other familiar English forms in this pared-down dictaminal style are petitions, charters, and deeds, not to mention most of the documents issued by the chancery and other royal offices, such as Letters Close and Privy Seal letters. Directives from the mayor's courts are essentially the same genre. Conversely, petitions, bonds, directives, and letters *from* the merchants and their guilds were written with these same generic conventions. (Indentures and a few other document genres were exceptions.) Besides being universally regarded as the prestigious style of written communication (the middling Celys hand-wrote their own private letters but chose the royal epistle style out of respect for convention), the well-defined structure of dictaminal documents, especially the royal epistle, likely helped spread literate practices among the middle classes simply because the formulaic nature and brevity of the royal epistle made it fairly easy for even the most inept writer to cobble together a letter out of stock phrases, with the main thrust of the message inserted at the appropriate and predictable point. This made the letter easy for the sender to dictate, easy for the scribe to write, and easy for the sender and recipient to read. Even the 1381 rebels supposedly wrote their letters of protest in conventional dictaminal form.[47] Here is an example of a mundane business transaction in this genre:

---

[45] Hubert Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), pp. 270–75.

[46] Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, p. 31; Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 199–202.

> Right trusty friend, I commend me to you, letting you wit that you shall receive of John Sarvere the Elder 1 butt of Romany, price £4, 1 butt of red wine, price £3, for the which I trust to God you shall [give] me thanks. Item, you must pay for the costs, 17p. No more to you, but Jesu keep you. Written at London the vi day of April. Your friend, Edmond Newman.[48]

Looking at the rhetorical treatises of the time, some based on Italian models, letters intended for merchants' use were not wholly ignored. Sample dictaminal merchant letters in French, the language of business, are found, for example, in Sampson's treatises or even as late as the 1520s in the commonplace book of Richard Hill, a real merchant.[49] The problem is that none of the formulary letters resemble any actual merchant letters which have survived. One can tell that Sampson's letters were written by a man who knew traditional rhetoric, since they have nice moments of Ciceronian bonhomie, at least compared with the typically spare Cely letters, many of which ironically were written to genuine 'absent friends', such as brothers and sons. Sampson's merchant letter in London, British Library, MS Harley 3988 begins 'Greetings and good love to my dear friend', and the response begins 'To my true chief and great friend'. Compare to this a Cely letter, which doubles as a receipt (modernized and slightly edited):

> I greet you well. I let you wit I have received of John Forner and Harry Demorys for the full payment of Philip Seller's letter of payment, wherefore I will that you deliver the pledge of Harry. Written at London the tenth day of December. By your father, Richard Cely.[50]

The other Celys and their merchant peers often address their letters with the customary 'trusty and well-beloved', just like royal clerks. Finally, merchant documents, official and unofficial, sound like they were written by Privy Seal clerks because they were written by scribes who had training similar to Privy

---

[47] Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 13–29.

[48] Kew, The National Archives, SC1/46/264, modernized.

[49] Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=balliol&manuscript=ms354>.

[50] *The Cely Letters*, ed. by Hanham, p. 70.

Seal clerks in framing letters and legal documents by teachers like Kingsmill and Sampson.

Since I have published my views on the late medieval private letter recently, let me focus on a rhetorical/grammatical element not discussed there which is critical in the dictaminal letter and, I believe, helped lead to its demise with merchants everywhere, hypotaxis.[51] In itself, hypotaxis is completely familiar. In English we would call it simply 'subordination', a way to show through grammar the inequality of two ideas in a sentence, or at least their relationship. In modern linguistic terms the 'whereas-wherefore' pairing in the dictaminal epistle would be considered adjunct subordinate clauses, clauses which express purpose. Hypotaxis is the rhetorical basis of the dictaminal letter, subordinating a set of circumstances grammatically ('whereas') to its resolution by the sender or speaker.

Whatever advantage this form of hypotaxis may have had in the hierarchical court and Church organizations in which it achieved its pre-eminence, it has several disadvantages which eventually helped ease out the dictaminal letter from much business writing by the earlier sixteenth century. To understand why fifteenth-century changes in merchant business documents are a significant break with the rhetorical past, we need to look again at how hypotaxis was used in medieval letters. As the modern rhetoricians Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca have pointed out, 'Hypotaxis creates frameworks [and] constitutes the adoption of a position. It controls the reader, forces him to see particular relationships, restricts the interpretations he may consider, and takes its inspiration from well-known legal reasoning'.[52] The dictaminal document was framed as a speech act, and, because of its long association with the law, with the Church, and with royal and ducal administrations, its rhetoric was largely limited to two speech acts or 'positions': commanding and petitioning.[53] Its verbal structure sets up an issue with a word like 'whereas' and resolves it with a phase preceded by something like 'wherefore', so the typical dictaminal epistle could be reduced to two basic models, one saying 'Whereas a problem exists, wherefore I want it solved in this way', and the other 'Whereas I have a problem, wherefore I ask you to solve it for me in this way'. Speaking of the early modern letter and its relationship to official letters, Lynne Magnussen notes that while the official epistle may seem 'far from an ideal state instrument' in terms of accuracy, it might have been ideal as 'a means to shape and reinforce the reciprocal relation and cooperation of the correspondents […] and so to extend and sustain the far-flung network of relations constituting the government service'.[54] The same comment may be applied, mutatis mutandi, to merchant documents, at least as long as the pretence of a necessary personal relationship between the correspondents and of having a document become the voice of the absent correspondent was felt critical to maintain. (And medieval letters were generally read aloud.)

---

[51] Richardson, *Middle Class Writing*, pp. 105–42.

[52] Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, p. 158.

[53] Ronald Witt, 'Medieval "Ars dictaminis" and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 35 (1982), 1–35 (p. 13).

In the fourteenth century, however, merchants made an extraordinary rhetorical break by simply abandoning their dictaminal heritage in some of their key business forms and killing off any pretence that a document was any form of personal connection between persons who know or care about one another. Hypotactic style was unsuited to describing complex problems, giving a narrative (as we have seen), or simply reporting a fact. Sometimes no action, no 'wherefore' was needed. More arguably, the hierarchical rhetoric of the dictaminal letter was unsuited to business transactions, where a certain detached equality is the best attitude, except perhaps for unpaid bills. In any case, the hypotactic style is simply an awkward way for Mr. Newman to record the sale of a butt of wine in the example above. Newman cannot think of a 'wherefore', so he fills in the gap by asking his buyer for his gratitude and also to pay the costs.

The answer to the 'subordination' problem came slowly north from Italy in the form of a number of new business genres, the most prominent and useful of which was what was called in Italian the *tratta* and in English a 'mandate', a 'bill' or 'letter' of payment, or the 'letter of exchange' (the latter a more modern term). Hunt and Murray's authoritative *History of Business in Medieval Europe* claims that 'the most important financial innovation of the High Middle Ages was the bill of exchange'.[55] In terms of economic function, the letter of exchange made it possible to loan a fellow merchant in London £100 and the merchant could repay the sum at a later date in Bruges in whatever currency was specified in the bill. As the eminent economic historian M. M. Postan noted, it could be used to settle and pay debts and to lend money: 'Its function was to effect a payment — the purpose was immaterial'.[56] With the letter of exchange we enter the modern world of finance, rhetorically speaking. Just as it marks a recognition that trading over distance differs from local and personal exchanges, its many written variations recognized the impersonality of trade. There was no longer a need to pretend exchanges needed to be handled as written 'conversations' among acquaintances. The letter of exchange is nakedly impersonal. The *tratta* was a break also with the feudal sense of personal contractual obligation, for as Anthony Black notes in his book on guilds and society, 'Contractual relations were the one thing the feudal world and the world of commerce had in common'.[57] Of these contractual forms, letters of payment replaced the royal epistle as the genre most suitable for recording business transactions, as in this example:

---

[54] Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 92.

[55] Edwin S. Hunt and James M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 65.

[56] M. M. Postan, *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 55.

> This bill made the v day of February in the 18 year of the reign of King Edward the iiii beareth witness that W. Clark, Haberdasher, and Joan his wife owe unto W. Warboys xx. s. sterling to be paid to the said W. or to his certain attorney at the Feast of Easter come 12 months, the which shall be in the year of our Lord 1480, to the which payment well and truly be done, I bind me, mine heirs, and mine executors. In witness thereof, I set to mine seal the day and time above rehearsed.[58]

The importance of this change is not just in the removal of the customary wording of hypotaxis, but in the removal of relationships implied by the rhetoric of the dictaminal letter genre. This change, which occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century and was probably not as fast or complete as I once thought,[59] would be little more than a curiosity except that it meant that commercial rhetoric was making a cultural turn in which personal relations were, if not exactly erased, then sharply curtailed. Perhaps it meant the impersonalization of commercial life was finally recognized rhetorically, or even that the pretence of mercantile camaraderie inherent in the epistolary form was dropped. The long-standing idea that a written document must be a stand-in for the voice of the writer was, in commercial documents, being eliminated, and commercial writing took a separate path from the academic, civil, and royal rhetorical styles to which it had been joined. The dictaminal style was in decline in commerce by the end of the fifteenth century. The massive Gawdy papers in the British Library begin about 1509 with a trickle of non-dictaminal business documents, as if to announce the arrival of this 'new' family by starting off in a new style of recording their business. The general form is

---

[57] Anthony Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 37.

[58] *The Customs of London; otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle*, ed. by Francis Douce (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1811), p. 106; 1503 edition, fol. 38.

[59] Richardson, *Middle Class Writing*, pp. 88–91.

> This bill made at XXX the XX day of XX the XX year of the reign of king Henry VIII witnesseth that [personal name] of [location] in ye county of XX hath received of [personal name] [amount] of lawful money of England in part of payment [under specified conditions]. In witness whereof I have written this bill with mine own hand and set to my seal the day and year above written.[60]

I find it especially remarkable that the printed book from which the penultimate example was drawn, Richard Arnold's *Customs of London*, published as a guide to all things London, was printed as early as 1503 and contains a section of model documents without a single dictaminal model. Of course, the official letters with dictaminal vestiges are to be found as late as the eighteenth century, but essentially the lingering influence of classical rhetoric in merchant rhetoric was withering by 1500.

Conclusions

As in so many cultural phenomena of the later Middle Ages, England was near the tail-end of changes that had already made their way from Italy, so the English merchants can be credited mainly for following good practices rather than creating them. Impersonal forms like the *tratta* were all Italian inventions which found their way to England slowly and came into use over the fifteenth century. Likewise, the use of the vernacular was slow to be accepted in English commercial life in comparison with other countries, so the appearance of the English-language narrative among merchant-class documents scarcely means that there were no narrative skills among English speakers, merely that the wide use of French in commercial documents discouraged the use of narratives in a language which relatively few merchants spoke fluently enough to appreciate. Nevertheless, I hope this essay has demonstrated that interesting things in medieval rhetoric occurred outside the classroom and Church. I do not intend this to imply criticism of histories of medieval rhetoric, especially James J. Murphy's long-standing classic or those of others who have followed. We know little enough about actual medieval classroom practice or the relationship between what was taught and what was practiced, and textbooks are usually our only signposts. Nevertheless, if it is true that 'the history of rhetoric is inevitably a history of textbooks', there are considerable archival survivals of merchant rhetoric that can give us a more nuanced view of what kinds of rhetoric were actively in use in late medieval Europe.[61]

---

[60] Summarized from London, British Library, MS Egerton 2713, Gawdy Family Correspondence, vol. I, nos 5–8, printed in Richardson, *Middle Class Writing*, p. 90.

---

[61] Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380–1620*, p. 5.

Part III

Literature and Theory

MANIFESTATIONS OF OTHERNESS IN *SIR PERCEVAL OF GALES*: WITCHES, SARACENS, AND GIANTS

Joerg O. Fichte

Sir Perceval of Gales, probably composed between 1300 and 1340 somewhere in the north-east, has been transmitted in only one manuscript, Lincoln Cathedral, MS 91 (*c.* 1440). This manuscript and London, British Library, Additional MS 31042 are miscellanies that Robert Thornton, lord of a manor and thus a member of the minor gentry, assembled and wrote down over many years.[1] The composition of the two manuscripts has been studied in detail. We know, for instance, how Thornton arranged Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, in which *Sir Perceval of Gales* concludes the romance part in quire K.[2]

---

[1] George Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral Library MS: Life and Milieu of the Scribe', *Studies in Bibliography*, 32 (1979), 158–78, and George Keiser, 'The Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton', *Studies in Bibliography*, 36 (1983), 111–19.

[2] See *The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91)*, ed. by D. S. Brewer and A. E. B. Owen (London: Scolar Press, 1975); Karen Stern, 'The London Thornton Miscellany: A New Description of British Museum Additional Manuscript 31042', *Scriptorium*, 30 (1976), 26–37 and 201–18; Ralph Hanna III, 'The London Thornton Manuscript: A Corrected Collation', *Studies in Bibliography*, 37 (1984), 122–39; and John J. Thompson, *Robert Thornton and the London Thornton Manuscript, British Library MS Additional 31042* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987).

Joerg Fichte was the Chairman of Medieval Studies in the English Department of the University of Tübingen, Germany, from 1976 until 2007. His areas of research include Chaucer, Arthurian literature, and medieval and Tudor drama, and his recent book publications include *From Camelot to Obamalot: Essays on Medieval and Modern Arthurian Literature* (2010) and a bilingual edition of *Mittelenglische Artusromanzen: Sir Percyvell of Gales, The Awntyrs off Arthure, The Weddynge of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* (2014).

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 149–171 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107453

The manuscript consists of three main parts: romances, religious writings (primarily the works of Richard Rolle), and treatises on medicine. The first part until folio 176^r starts off with two 'historical' works, *The Prose Life of Alexander* and the alliterative *Morte Arthure*. A series of five tail-rhyme romances follows and a piece of political prophecy, *Thomas of Ersseldoune*. Two Arthurian romances, *The Awntyrs of Arthure* and *Sir Perceval of Gales*, conclude this first part.[3] The less well-ordered manuscript, BL Add. MS 31042, occasionally called an 'overflow volume',[4] also contains four romances. Since both manuscripts were assembled for domestic use, we get a fairly good insight into the literary taste of a Northern country gentleman in the middle of the fifteenth century who, aside from religious works and instructional treatises, was mainly interested in popular romances of the type also recorded in the Auchinleck manuscript, dated some one hundred years earlier. With altogether eleven romances in both collections, the Thornton manuscripts together with Auchinleck are the most important sources of popular romance literature in medieval England.

Thornton appears to have had a special interest in the so-called 'identity romances', that is, in those works that describe the young protagonist's quest in search of social, cultural, and sexual identity. Aside from *Octavian* and *Eglamour*, *Sir Perceval of Gales* belongs to this type of narrative that Phillipa Hardman believes to have catered especially to the needs of a young audience:

> What I want to suggest is that these positive 'crude' qualities of the storytelling would also be likely to attract young readers of *Sir Percyvell of Gales*, those temporarily in a 'raw' condition themselves, wanting polish and schooling, who might well be drawn to identify with the youthful hero of this romance in his adventures and learning experiences.[5]

This approach appears to be plausible to those romances featuring some kind of educational progress preserved in manuscripts also containing primer material; it seems to be of questionable value, however, in the case of *Sir Perceval of Gales*. In contrast to Chrétien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach, where the naïve youngster learns something from four teachers — his mother,

---

[3] For the composition of the romance part, see John Finlayson, 'Reading Romances in their Manuscript: Lincoln Cathedral Manuscript 91 ("Thornton")', *Anglia*, 123 (2005), 632–66.

[4] Cf. Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, p. 68.

[5] Phillipa Hardman, 'Popular Romances and Young Readers', in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), pp. 150–64 (p. 151).

Gornemanz/Gurnemanz, the unnamed hermit/Trevrizent, and his own, often painful, experiences — this young man remains curiously untutored and uneducated, a phenomenon partly occasioned by the nature of the antagonists by whom he is confronted after he leaves his home in the wilderness far away from Arthur's court. Instead of having to fight against knightly opponents and test his strength and his skill of arms as taught to him by Gornemanz/Gurnemanz, he is challenged almost exclusively by representatives of 'the other': the diabolic Red Knight and his mother, a witch; the Saracen sultan, who besieges Lady Lufamour's castle and wants to force her into marriage; and the heathen giant, who woos Perceval's mother.[6] The protagonist ends his military career by fighting in the Holy Land and dying a sanctified death.

It has been customary to look for and identify an informing principle or common theme(s) in the composition of manuscripts, especially in miscellanies, as for instance in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.86.[7] Why were certain works included and what readership had the compiler in mind? One look at the romances collected in the two Thornton manuscripts reveals that this compiler had a predilection for works in which the protagonists achieve selfhood, that is, define themselves as knightly individuals through fights against Saracens, or as Christian soldiers engaging vast Saracen armies.[8]

---

[6] In contrast to the classical Perceval romances, where the protagonist takes on ordinary adversaries during the course of his adventures in order to perfect himself, he encounters only one knightly opponent, the Black Knight, the lord and lover of the lady sleeping in the hall with whom Perceval has exchanged rings. This exchange, an addition to the traditional story, which brings about the joust with the lady's protector, is necessary for the ensuing action. It leads straight to the last fight with the giant who is now in possession of the ring that he received from the knight as a sign of fealty. The author of the English *Perceval* appears to have retained the initial encounter with the lady in the hall for this reason alone. The magic ring serves no function, i.e. it neither shapes the narrative nor is it correlated in any meaningful way to the behavior of the hero. Thus, it also belongs to the category of 'Magic that Doesn't Work', as described by Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 146–51, and Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 127–30.

[7] Cf. Julia Boffey and Carol M. Meale, 'Selecting the Text: Rawlinson C.86 and Some Other Books for London Readers', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 143–69.

[8] According to the definition in *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Robert E. Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986), *S–SL*, pp. 86–87, the term 'Saracen' has a wide range of meanings. It denotes Turk, Arab, Muslim, or heathen, pagan, infidel, or any non-Christian; that is, it encompasses anyone from the heathen Saxons, who battle with King Arthur, to the Turks, who tried to conquer the Holy Land in the twelfth century.

Seven of the eleven romances feature encounters of Christians and Saracens, that is, of the representatives of the civilized and chivalric West and of the outlandish and bizarre East, which, in many romances, epitomizes the concept of otherness.[9] All forms of the strange and, therefore, menacing other are associated with the East. The curious adaptation of Chrétien's *Perceval* by the author of the Middle English *Sir Perceval of Gales* fits this context well. In the English *Sir Perceval*, the focus is on the hero's fights against these hostile forces to the exclusion of the theme dominating the two prominent Continental treatments by Chrétien and Wolfram, the search for the Grail. Instead of following the hero on his way to this spiritual goal, the author of *Sir Perceval* seems to have selected those episodes from the French story that could be adapted to his purpose of showing Perceval's encounters with representatives of fiendish, pagan, or monstrous otherness or a combination thereof. The ensuing discussion will focus on which episodes the English author chose and on how he reworked them for his purpose: to present Perceval as a fighter against otherness, not a seeker of the Grail. Three battles determine the hero's course of action and comprise the structural organization of the romance: against the Red Knight, the sultan, and finally the sultan's giant brother. They also account for its circular structure because the last battle, Perceval's fight against the giant, an addition to Chrétien's plot, takes the hero back to the place from which he departed a year ago: the wilderness, where he left his mother behind.

Before I launch into a discussion and analysis of Perceval's three encounters with the representatives of otherness, comparing them to their treatment in Chrétien as well as in Wolfram, I would like to point to one essential difference in conception. The two older courtly poets move in a fictional world different from that of the English author. Chrétien presents the reader with a largely homogeneous chivalric Arthurian world, in which challenges to its order come from ordinary adversaries within who have to be neutralized to ensure the perpetuation of the utopian ideal. The Arthurian world is not threatened by other worlds at its boundaries such as Asia and Africa. Wolfram expands this Occidental Arthurian world to include the Orient, a geographical entity and imaginative construct that may appear strange at first, but is essentially governed by the same chivalric ethos, a fact that eliminates the fundamental opposition of Christianity and pagan otherness characteristic of English popular romance. The world in *Sir Perceval of Gales*, as the world of the Middle English popular romance in general, I would argue, is extremely confined. It is an exclusive rather than an inclusive world, in which the concepts of sameness and otherness define both society (often placed in a foreign land, but essentially English in nature) and its real or perceived enemies. Place and/or space are of the very essence in Middle English popular romance, as becomes apparent in *Sir Perceval*. In this romance, tangible geographical location is left unspecified. From all we know, Arthur's court, the old knight's castle, and Maidenland are not very far apart, but then physical distance is of minor importance. More importantly, this world is susceptible to both internal and external threats and thus the physical landscape is augmented by a mental landscape, where 'we', that is, the clan or family, are constantly threatened by 'them', that is, the various representatives of otherness. For this reason, the English author creates a close-knit nexus of familial relationships for his hero, who is the nephew of both Arthur and the old knight and Gawain's cousin. He substitutes an endogamous society for Chrétien's European chivalric company of the Round Table, where the knights are brothers-in-arms, but not necessarily blood brothers, and for Wolfram's concept of universal chivalry transcending boundaries of both nation and faith.

---

[9] *Octavian*, *Sir Isumbras*, and *Sir Perceval of Gales* in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91 and *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, *The Sege of Melayne*, *Duke Roland and Sir Otuel*, and *Richard Coer de Lion* in BL, Add. MS 31042. A whole range of narratives is represented from Charlemagne Legends, crusading epics/romances to individual historic and fictional heroes who distinguish themselves by fighting Saracens. There is a brief reference to them in *Sir Degrevant*, and they appear in the epic alliterative *Morte Arthure*, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. For the most part these narratives do not duplicate the works contained in the Auchinleck manuscript that has been studied by Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

As does popular romance in general, *Sir Perceval* comprises a narrative as well as an imaginary space, 'in which cultural norms and divergences from those norms are negotiated and articulated'.[10] Its author sets out to create a world familiar to his fourteenth-century English audience, in which transgressions of cultural and physical boundaries are explored. In some Middle English romances, transgressions that take place within society like incest, rape, murder, and sacrilege are rehabilitated, because the culture offers officially sanctioned means of exculpation such as reparation and penance. Other transgressions, such as witchcraft and heresy, however, together with aggression from the non-Christian outside world, are punished (often by death) to ensure the integrity and survival of society. In the case of *Sir Perceval*, both the transgressors from within and the aggressors from without are representatives of otherness who cannot be accommodated. The two witches, the sultan, and the giant in this romance do not represent a specific historical alterity, but rather the fact of religious, political, and cultural otherness in general. They serve as convenient ciphers for the poet in his description of the hero's encounter with the enemies who threaten Arthur's small world. In this regard, the English Perceval differs from the Continental versions, a fact that becomes explicit once one compares the hero's three major fights with the depictions in Chrétien's and Wolfram's courtly narratives. Such an approach entails some retelling of the story to provide the necessary background. It is not meant to be an invidious comparison: *Sir Perceval of Gales* does not need to shun comparison with the older versions if one is ready to accept the English popular romance as a genre in its own right that obeys its own set of rules and principles.

---

[10] Nicola McDonald, 'A Polemical Introduction', in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, ed. by Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 1–21 (p. 12).

Let me begin with the Red Knight episode. In Chrétien, as well as in *Sir Perceval*, the nameless Red Knight who threatens the King is Arthur's enemy. In Chrétien, the dispute is about territory. The Red Knight demands a tract of land that Arthur allegedly occupies unlawfully. The theft of the cup, a challenge to Arthur's claim, symbolizes the appropriation of the land. When the Red Knight encounters Perceval outside of Arthur's court, he expects an opponent in a judicial battle. Perceval, however, is solely interested in the knight's armour; he has no interest in the legal aspects of the quarrel between Arthur and the Red Knight. Yet all three men are driven by the same desire. They want something that belongs to someone else: land or armour, the chief emblems of feudal society. Perceval wants the Red Knight's armour because he thinks that armour makes the knight. He is interested in the outer trappings of chivalry, not in chivalry itself, which is the prerequisite for the attainment of knighthood. Preceding Perceval's encounter with the Red Knight is the elaborate scene at Arthur's court designed to show both Perceval's lack of formal education and his election (the prophecies by the maiden and the fool). When Perceval kills the Red Knight, he does not act as Arthur's champion in a judicial duel. Rather, he kills him in a personal quarrel, because the Red Knight refuses to relinquish his armour, as demanded by Perceval, and unhorses the young man with the blunt end of his lance. Perceval now acts in self-defense. Unacquainted with the rules of knightly combat, he retaliates for the shame and pain of being thrown to the ground by killing his opponent with the spear (*gavelot*). In contrast to Wolfram, where Ither's death is one of the two sins committed by the rash young Parzival for which he must atone, Chrétien's naïve protagonist does not incur any personal guilt.[11]

---

[11] Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. by Albert Leitzman (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1965), Book IX, 475.

The situation in *Sir Perceval of Gales* differs from the two previous treatments. The theft of the cup is not a unique event, but has occurred fourteen times before,[12] that is, in every year since the death of Perceval's father, Arthur's brother-in-law, whom the Red Knight killed, taking revenge for his defeat at the hands of Perceval's father at the tournament celebrating his wedding to Acheflour, Arthur's sister. If one follows the reading suggested by Ad Putter of line 139 — 'Wo worthe wykkyde armour' as 'a curse on the wicked use of arms' instead of the customary reading 'a curse on faulty armour' — it follows that the Red Knight has obviously defeated and killed Perceval Senior by unlawful means.[13] His joy is totally inappropriate, because tournament rules forbade contestants in a hastilude *à plaisance* to hurt or kill their opponents on purpose.[14] None of the participants dares stop him and take revenge for the death of Perceval Senior. Revenge, though alluded to, is not carried through but postponed until later, because no one at Arthur's court seems to be strong enough to fight the Red Knight. It will become Perceval's destiny to avenge his father, even though he will do so unwittingly.

The Red Knight appears at Arthur's court at the very instant when the naïve Perceval demands knighthood from Arthur. He dashes into the hall, insults the King and his knights by calling them 'recrayhandes' (l. 610), gulps down the King's wine, takes the cup, and gallops away. Perceval interrupts the lament of the powerless King by insisting on being knighted if he should succeed in returning the cup. The King agrees and asks his chamberlain to fetch armour for Perceval. The young man, however, rushes off unarmed.

Then follows Perceval's encounter with the Red Knight, whom he kills with his Scottish spear. Since he does not manage to divest the Red Knight of his armour, he decides to burn him out of it, following his mother's advice to burn a broken shaft out of the tip. This is a new element of some consequence. In Chrétien, Perceval considers cutting the dead body into pieces, in order to slice him out of the armour, a thought obviously not taken up by Wolfram, because such a barbaric act would be in violation of knightly honour. The appropriation of the Red Knight's armour is appalling enough, especially as it belongs to Parzival's close relative Ither, whom Parzival has rashly killed. In *Perceval of Gales*, too, his plan to burn the knight out of his armour is not carried through, because Gawain himself (not his squire Yonet) appears just in time to help the young man disarm his dead enemy and put on his armour. The dead body, however, is tossed into the fire.

---

[12] I follow the reading by J. Campion and F. Holthausen, eds, *Sir Perceval of Gales* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1913), p. 21, l. 633, who emend 'Fyve' to 'fyf[ten]e', arguing that young Perceval is now fifteen years old; further quotations are from this edition. Maldwyn Mills, ed., *Ywain and Gawain, Sir Percyvell of Gales, The Anturs of Arther* (London: Dent, 1992), p. 118, l. 633, retains 'Fyve'.

[13] Ad Putter, 'The Text of *Sir Perceval of Gales*', *Medium Aevum*, 70 (2001), 191–203 (pp. 192–93).

[14] Juliet R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), p. 143. See also chaps 5, 'The Tournament as Spectacle', pp. 84–111, and 7, 'The Forms of Combat', pp. 137–61.

Why does Perceval do this and why does Gawain permit this disgraceful act, a Gawain who, in this romance, too, is cast into the role of Arthur's most chivalrous knight? Perceval's behaviour might be excused on the grounds of his insufficient knowledge of Christian burial rites or it might be explained as just one more example of his wild and untutored manner. Why, though, does Gawain not stop this outrage? The reason for his reticence appears to be the nature of the Red Knight, who in the English version of the Perceval story is no ordinary knight, but a manifestation of otherness. Even though he is initially introduced as an ordinary participant in a tournament *à plaisance*, he will treacherously kill Perceval's father in the second tournament held in celebration of Perceval's birth. With the death of Perceval Senior, Arthur loses his best knight and is now at the mercy of the Red Knight, who invades Arthur's court at will. Reduced to impotence, Arthur hopes for the arrival of a brave knight who 'May make ȝone fende duelle' (l. 632). The primary meaning of 'fende', derived from Old English 'feond', is foe or enemy. Already in the Old English poem *Guthlac*, however, the term also designates man's archenemy, the devil and his emissaries.[15] In Middle English, too, the word carries both meanings: foe and devil. 'ȝone fende' could thus be understood as a reference to the Red Knight's diabolic nature, whose blood-red armour would support such a reading, since red is the color of the devil.[16] Red indicates a treacherous nature.[17] As is well known, Judas had red hair.[18] The Red Knight's 'craftes', repeatedly mentioned in lines 560, 561, 608, and 609, are such that no man can kill him with sword, spear, or knife. Only young Perceval will be able to do this, in order to avenge his father, as the books say. The impression of the Red Knight's supernatural powers is supported by his being the son of a witch, who claims that she could have revived and healed his dead body, if Perceval had not burned the corpse. The Red Knight's fiendish nature is later reconfirmed by the fact that the old knight, too, who turns out to be Perceval's uncle, would have liked nothing better than to see him burn.[19] Being burned, the Red Knight suffers the same fate as witches on the Continent in the late Middle Ages and in early modern times, a fate that will be shared by his mother, whom Perceval carries off on the tip of his spear and casts into the fire: 'Ly still and swete | Bi þi son, þat lyther swayne' (ll. 863–64).

---

[15] *Guthlac*, in *The Exeter Book*, ed. by George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 53, l. 136a.

[16] Francis P. Gummere, 'On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and White in Germanic Tradition', *Haverford College Studies*, 1 (1889), 112–62 (p. 129).

[17] Cf. *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. by Robert Steele, EETS, ES 74 (London: Early English Text Society, 1898), p. 229: 'Tho that bene rede men, bene Parceuyinge and trechurus, and full of queyntise, i-likenyd to Foxis'.

[18] Paull F. Baum, 'Judas's Red Hair', *Journal of English and German Philology*, 21 (1922), 520–29 (p. 520).

Witch burnings are not recorded, however, in fourteenth-century England. Heretics were burned at the stake after the passage of the statute *De haeretico comburendo* by Parliament in 1401;[20] that is, the author does not describe reality, but draws on popular conceptions from folklore and fairy tale. Even though white magic appears relatively often in romance, black magic is the exception. It is frequently associated with the heathen or the classical pagan world and refers to demonic practices condemned by the Church.[21] In the world of romance, 'wicchecraft' and 'nigromancy' characterize those in league with the devil, such as shape shifters, enchanters, witches, and Saracens who, as manifestations of the non-Christian other, are the natural enemies of the Christian hero. Perceval's first feat of arms must be seen, therefore, from this perspective. By killing the Red Knight, he does not defeat a chivalric opponent, as in Chrétien, or a close relative, as in Wolfram, but he liberates Arthur's court from the harassments of a diabolic adversary, who in this romance can be neither controlled nor contained by any member of the court. Even though he is completely untutored and uneducated, the 'fole one þe filde' (l. 289), as Perceval is called on several occasions, he succeeds in removing this danger from Arthur's court by relying solely on his inborn, natural abilities. Perceval becomes an involuntary saviour, who liberates Arthurian society from an enemy whose 'craftes' supported by his mother's 'wicchecraft' prove to be superior to the knightly prowess of the court. Having defeated this enemy and recouped the cup, Perceval refuses to return to Arthur because he feels superior to the hapless King. Perceval, remaining in his natural and untutored state, leaves Arthur's world behind and thus all courtliness, graciousness, and good manners, which it represents.

---

[19] Cf. *Sir Perceval of Gales*, ed. by Campion and Holthausen, ll. 931–32: 'I solde never hafe etyn brede, | Are I hade sene hym bren'.

[20] The only case recorded in the fifteenth century is that of Margery Jourdemayn, a sorceress, who was indicted together with Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, Master Roger Bolingbroke, and Thomas Southwell for conspiring to procure the King's death by sorcery. She was burned at Smithfield in 1441 'either as a female traitor or perhaps as a relapsed heretic for she had been arrested for sorcery before and may have abjured'. George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 81. The usual punishment for witches in England in early modern times was hanging and that only on rare occasions. Burnings were the great exception: the burning of Mother Lakewood in 1645. Cf. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonism: A Concise Account Derived from Sworn Depositions and Confessions in the Courts of England and Wales* (London: Heath Cranton, 1933), p. 302.

[21] Cf. Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural*, chap. 4, 'Black Magic: The Practice of "Nigromancy"', pp. 152–78.

The fight against the Red Knight, then, initiates a sequence of encounters with representatives of otherness. It appears as if the English author has purposely chosen these adventures in order to increase the status of the protagonist. He doesn't fight like an ordinary or Arthurian knight in pursuit of adventures, but like a fairy-tale hero against adversaries outside the chivalric order. In this way, the English Perceval differs both from his counterpart in Chrétien and Wolfram and from two figures found in Middle English popular romance: the 'bel inconnu' and the 'male Cinderella', the first one represented by Libeaus Desconus and the second by Havelock. Both figures not only prove their noble origin and nature in a series of encounters and adventures, but also undergo a process of education and maturation. Of Perceval, on the other hand, it is said, 'þe kynde wolde oute sprynge' (l. 355), whereas 'nurtoure' (l. 397) remains rudimentary because unlike Perceval/Parzival he does not receive any knightly training.

After the victory over the diabolic Red Knight, Perceval has to confront a new adversary, who is also a manifestation of otherness. As soon as he learns from a messenger on his way to Arthur's court to solicit help that a pagan sultan besieges the last castle remaining in the possession of Lady Lufamour, the ruler of Maidenland, Perceval departs to come to her aid. His decision to do so is a wise one, since the ailing Arthur initially refuses to come to the lady's rescue. Only after he has heard of the messenger's meeting with Perceval does he decide to set out in search of his nephew. The ensuing episode roughly corresponds to the Beaurepaire episode. A mighty lord courts a lady who rejects him. Thereupon he besieges the lady's castle in order to enforce his will. Any similarities between the three texts (*Perceval*, *Parzival*, and *Sir Perceval of Gales*) end right here because the suitor is no knight but a pagan sultan by the name of Golrotherame. Clamadeu (Clamide) and his seneschal Engygeron (Kingrun), although hostile towards Blancheflour/Condwiramurs because of their rejection, are worthy opponents, whom Perceval/Parzival defeats in knightly combat. They can be integrated into Arthur's court, as soon as they have delivered their message from Perceval/Parzival and submitted to Arthur's authority. In the case of the sultan, integration is not possible. He has to be defeated and killed by Perceval.

Using minimal description, the English poet evokes the well-known image of the heathen potentate, as he frequently appears in popular romance. There is the strange-sounding name that places the sultan outside the Christian West. The very name signifies the otherness of the opponent, who may even be a giant or unusually big, since in popular romance excessive height is frequently associated with Saracens. In any case, his brother, whom Perceval has to fight next, is a giant. This sultan and his heathen hordes have invaded Maidenland. They have slain Lufamour's father, uncle, and brothers. She is left with just one castle. Now the sultan intends to marry her by force. Lady Lufamour, though, will rather commit suicide than succumb to the sultan's desire. Implied in this description is the fear of sexual transgression, such as rape, mutilation, and sexual harassment, to which the helpless women of Maidenland may be exposed. Ever since the first crusade, these perceived threats to Christian women by Saracen warriors have played a considerable part in both clerical and secular propaganda.[22] While Blancheflour/Condwiramurs have to fight off the unwanted attentions of a hostile neighbour, the suitor in the English romance is a Saracen who must have come from a strange, faraway land. The audience acquainted with this genre knows that pagan potentates will woo Christian ladies (sometimes even by the use of force) or simply abduct them. The first situation is found in *The King of Tars* and in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, the second one in *Sir Isumbras*.[23]

---

[22] See Michael Uebel, 'Unthinking the Monster: Twelfth-Century Responses to Saracen Alterity', in *Monster Theory*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 264–91.

[23] There have been numerous studies on this subject and its ramifications, from Dorothee Metlicki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 137–60; Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Pagans, Tartars, Moslems, and Jews in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 48–68; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 226–37; to Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity*, pp. 107–28, to name just a few of them. Interfaith and interracial marriages in these romances always pose the threat of what Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 5–6, 112–16, calls 'hybridity', that is, of the loss of pure cultural identity.

Simple markers accentuate this dichotomy of Christianity vs. heathendom. The sultan is a powerful antagonist. No one can withstand his might. As the messenger reports, 'Now es þe sowdan so wyghte | Alle he slaes doun ryghte' (ll. 1001–02). He will use force to impose his will on the hapless Lufamour, an intention that has to be punished by death, as Perceval maintains. And he commands a huge army: four hundred well-armed men guard the gate to Lufamour's castle; two hundred twenty watch the place by day and one hundred eighty by night. On his search for the sultan, Perceval kills them all. The author invokes the conventional image of Saracens: They appear in masses, are battle-crazy, malevolent, and lecherous.[24] They are called 'folks of envy' (l. 1296) and their sultan 'uncely' (wicked, accursed, evil, blameworthy, unrighteous)[25] (ll. 1674, 1699); that is, they are identified as heathen, and as such, they deserve neither the audience's sympathy nor Perceval's pity. In order to create a feeling of solidarity with the hero, the author treats their death in a joking manner: 'Now he strykes for þe nones: | Made þe Sarazenes hede-bones | Hoppe, als dose hayle-stones, | A-bowtte one þe gres' (ll. 1189–92).

After Perceval has killed all his enemies, 'Were þay never so wilde ne wighte' (l. 1183), he is ready for the fight with the sultan. In the description of this encounter, the author employs the image of the heroic Saracen fighters as they appear in the Charlemagne legends such as *Sir Firumbras*, *Roland and Vernagu*, and *Otuel*. Some of these pagan warriors, like Firumbras and Otuel, convert to Christianity; others obstinately refuse to accept baptism, like the giant Vernagu and Balam, Firumbras's father.[26] In this case, conversion is not an option; the duel between Golrotherame and Perceval serves a different purpose. On the one hand, it will decide the fate of Lady Lufamour and her country — winner takes all. On the other hand, Perceval will have to prove himself worthy of knighthood by overcoming the sultan. Arthur, who in the meantime has arrived at

---

[24] Cf. Beatrice White, 'Saracens and Crusaders: From Fact to Allegory', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. by D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 170–91 (p. 181).

[25] *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Lewis, *U–V* (1997), p. 305.

[26] See Marianne Ailes, 'Tolerated Otherness: The "Unconverted Saracen" in the *Chansons de Geste*', in *Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communications, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 3–19 (pp. 8–9). Ailes points out that the texts with geographical origins in the Mediterranean basin, 'are more likely to accept the right of Saracens to hold a different faith' (p. 18). English texts, in contrast, being produced far away from the locus of cultural interchange show no level of acceptance of the Muslim other.

Lady Lufamour's castle, assures his nephew: 'þou sall wynn thi schone | Appon þe sowdane' (ll. 1595–96). The events are arranged in an incremental pattern; Perceval shall earn the accolade that he had declined after his victory over the Red Knight by performing one more heroic feat of arms. The significance of the impending duel is thus increased. The sultan, although a pagan, is a worthy adversary, whereas the treacherous Red Knight was not. He is a mighty fighter who deserves respect. Thus, the eight-line description of the first encounter is expanded to almost eighty lines. Even though Perceval is still inexperienced in battle and prone to wild fantasies, he succeeds in unhorsing the sultan and in striking off his head. Decapitation of the pagan enemy is typical of romance treatment of defeated Saracen leaders, that is, their manner of death corresponds to the execution of noble traitors and rebels. Being a Saracen, that is, a Muslim, the sultan has betrayed the true Christian faith and is, therefore, sliced in two by the sword like the schismatic Mohammed, the founder of Islam, in Dante's *Inferno*.[27]

On account of his victory, 'ȝyng' (l. 1737) Perceval marries Lady Lufamour in the presence of King Arthur, becomes the King of Maidenland, and is recognized as the legitimate ruler by his subjects. This course of events is expected and meets the requirements of romance, according to which the young knight wins both bride and territory. The same happens in Chrétien and in Wolfram and in countless Middle English popular romances. The action comprises the 'type-episode' sequence 'threatened marriage, rescue, and marriage', identified by Susan Wittig as one of the dominant patterns of English romance, appearing altogether nineteen times.[28]

Although Perceval's achievement is a great accomplishment, the question remains as to whether or not the fifteen-year-old youngster has improved his knowledge of courtly behaviour and etiquette. He is still lacking in socialization and enculturation, that is, the necessary prerequisites for personality formation. Before the duel with the sultan, Arthur felt obliged to inform the bewildered Lufamour, who wondered about Perceval's lack of social graces, of the hero's curious upbringing far away from civilized society. It seems that, due to the attainment of his kingdom and the accolade bestowed on him by Arthur, Perceval has at last achieved official knightly status. He is not called upon to prove his chivalric excellence, though, because the greatest challenge ahead of him will demand fortitude and bodily strength, not the knowledge of knightly warfare and values. This challenge is of a private nature; it does not pertain to his royal office. Being a test of his personality, it carries more weight. The protagonist will not be tried, however, in a series of knightly adventures as Perceval/Parzival in Chrétien and Wolfram after the Beaurepaire episode. Rather, the young man has to face up to his past and embark on a quest in search of his mother. The recovery of the mother will lead to an encounter with the last and most formidable adversary: a giant, the vengeful brother of Golrotherame, whom Perceval had defeated and killed in judicial battle. The giant is one more manifestation of otherness, a manifestation that exceeds all previous forms.

---

[27] Dante Alighieri, *La Commedìa*, ed. by Antonio Lanza (Anzio: De Rubeis, 1995), *Inferno*, canto xxviii, ll. 31–42.

[28] Susan Wittig, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), pp. 146–51.

The first part that approximates the traditional story ends once Perceval has gained both his lady and his kingdom. In following this storyline the narrative retains the salient features of the bipartite plot structure that characterizes Chrétien's Arthurian romances. In the first part, a member or several members of the anti-world challenge Arthurian society, and the challenged or chosen knight sets out to face and defeat these antagonistic forces. Once he has gained a bride during this course of adventures, he returns to the court. After experiencing a personal crisis that puts in jeopardy the relationship with his *amie*, the protagonist sets out once more on a quest or a second course of adventures, during which the hero is ultimately reconciled with his beloved after undergoing the harrowing experience of either physical near-death (Erec) or social death (Ivain). After the protagonist has emerged triumphantly from his trials, he returns to Arthur's court. The celebration of a courtly feast, signalling the re-establishment of social harmony and peace, concludes the romance.

The second part of *Sir Perceval of Gales* roughly corresponds to the second movement or cycle of classical Arthurian romance, even though the nature of the test differs and the work ends not with the hero's return to Arthur's court, but with his passage to the Holy Land. Also the crisis, initiating the second cycle, is of a different nature. It is not caused by either a deficiency (Ivain and Laudine) or an excess (Erec and Enide) of love, but by misdirected love (Perceval and his mother). This crisis occurs exactly one year after Perceval has left his mother behind in the woods, in order to be knighted by King Arthur. On Christmas Day, he suddenly thinks of his mother and laments that he chose 'wilde wayes' (l. 1786) and 'My modir all manles | Leved' (ll. 1787–88). One could look kindly on Perceval's realization that his departure may have caused pain and grief to his mother, and occasionally it has been seen as a sign of maturity and responsibility.[29] We have to keep in mind, though, that he now acts as irresponsibly towards his wife as he had done the year before towards his mother.[30] His sudden departure repeats his initial leave-taking. He is determined to undertake the quest for his mother immediately, just as he had been determined to set out instantly for Arthur's court. He disregards Lufamour's plea to stay at home for the Christmas holidays, just as he had disregarded his mother's plea to do so the year before. There is one small change: By attending Mass, he receives spiritual guidance that takes the place of his mother's more worldly counsel the year before.[31]

---

[29] See F. Xavier Baron, 'Mother and Son in *Sir Perceval of Galles*', *Papers on Language and*

By way of a second meeting with the lady of the hall and the victory over her lord, the Black Knight, he retraces his steps that lead him back to his mother. There is another obstacle, though: He has to fight and defeat one more manifestation of otherness, a giant, in order to retrieve the ring his mother had given to him as a sign of recognition at his departure. This ring is now in the hands of the giant. Fights against giants are conventional elements of those romances that deal with a young knight's search for identity. As Jeffrey Cohen points out: 'The hero must fight a giant. Such was the assumption of the romancers, as well as the audience's "horizon of expectation"'.[32] Male or chivalric identity is constructed through an encounter with a giant, whose enormous size represents a magnified version of the anti-world. One finds these encounters in *Ywain and Gawain*, *Lybeaus Desconus*, *Sir Torrent of Partyngale*, *Sir Eglamour*, *King Horn*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*, and *Octavian*. Often these giants are Saracens, as in *King Horn*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*, and *Octavian*; that is, being denizens of a remote heathen world increases their strangeness and abnormality. Not only their bodily appearance is frightening, but also

---

Literature, 8 (1972), 3–14. Other scholars are less impressed and detect no progress in Perceval's education. Cf. Caroline D. Eckhardt, 'Arthurian Comedy: The Simpleton-Hero in *Sir Perceval of Galles*', *Chaucer Review*, 8 (1973), 205–20 (p. 206), and Glenn Wright, '"Þe Kynde Wolde Oute Sprynge": Interpreting the Hero's Progress in *Sir Perceval of Galles*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 72 (2000), 45–53 (p. 45). One should also bear in mind that Chrétien's Perceval has twice expressed concern for his mother by the time he leaves Beaurepaire. Cf. Christian von Troyes, *Der Percevalroman (Li Contes del Graal)*, ed. by Alfons Hilka (Halle: Niemeyer, 1932), p. 70, ll. 1580–92; p. 130, ll. 2917–21.

[30] Patricia Rose, 'Acheflour, Wise Woman or Foolish Female?', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 46 (2004), 452–72 (p. 453).

[31] Cf. Ad Putter, 'Story Line and Story Shape in *Sir Perceval of Galles* and Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du Graal*', in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, ed. by McDonald, pp. 171–96 (p. 184).

[32] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 73.

their nature. Their extreme size represents excess.[33] Giants possess superhuman strength, perverse inclinations, and abnormal cravings, especially sexual ones, and therefore represent transgression.[34] Their bodily and emotional excess is diametrically opposed to the knightly individual, who should be moderate, modest, and unselfish, fighting for the common weal rather than living a life of self-indulgence and gratification of his lusts. Without wanting to dwell at length on the biblical origin of giants as descendants of Cain, that is, as God's enemies like Nimrod and Goliath, who rebel against His divine order, I would like to emphasize once more their aggressive and antagonistic nature, of which a medieval audience would have been well aware. The very fact that Perceval's next opponent is a giant would have prompted these associations. It is, therefore, of little consequence that this giant does not fit the traditional mold. He does not live in a cave, on a mountaintop, or in a dark wood, but in a castle. He is no asocial monster that rapes maidens and/or terrorizes the neighbouring people like the cannibalistic giant of Mont St Michel in the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (also in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91), the giant Harpyns in *Ywain and Gawain*, or the red and black giants in *Lybeaus Desconus*, but a feudal lord, who is ready to defend his territory against the invading Perceval. Moreover, he does not seem to have pressured Perceval's mother unduly, but 'hir wele and lely | He luffede' (ll. 2139–40), as one would expect of a true knight. Still, in spite of this positive characterization, he becomes a formidable antagonist. Because of his excessive size, his paganism — he swears by 'Mohown' (l. 2039) — and his huge iron club that altogether weighs twenty-three stones, he conforms to the traditional image of giants as manifestations of hostile otherness.[35] He also possesses the mother's ring and is a potential rival for her love. Thus, to be reunited with her, Perceval must eliminate him. The battle follows the traditional pattern: The giant attacks Perceval with his club, but misses him. Perceval then cuts off his right hand and left foot, thereafter the other hand and finally his head. As the narrator wryly comments, 'He was ane unhende knave, | A geantberde so to schafe' (ll. 2094–95).

---

[33] David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monsters in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996), p. 113.

[34] Cf. Dana M. Oswald, *Monsters, Gender and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2010), pp. 159–64.

[35] *Sir Perceval of Galles and Ywain and Gawain*, ed. Mary Flowers Braswell (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), p. 76, contains a note on the giant's 'lome' (instrument) (l. 3032). The word was used in Middle English as a metaphor for the penis. Certainly, to this giant, his 'playlome' (plaything) (l. 2013) or 'clobe-lome' (club) (l. 2053) is also a figure of his potency.

It could, of course, be argued that the giant serves as a mirror to Perceval. He is both human and more-than-human. Being armed with a club, he resembles the liminal figure of the 'Wild Man', who is also traditionally associated with nature and excess.[36] Aside from being called a 'fole', that is, 'untutored', Perceval is also called 'wilde' on several occasions (ll. 1353, 1497, 1570, 1584, and 1678) and a 'wilde man' (l. 596) by Arthur himself. As Maldwyn Mills suggests, 'wilde' is a key word in the romance, being applied to both Perceval and his actions with some regularity.[37] It denotes excess and, as such, flawed masculinity. By encountering the giant, Perceval encounters himself. Thus, the fight with the giant also serves as a reminder of his hypermasculinity that so far has prevented him from successful socialization. Like the giant, he is still undercivilized and corporally overdetermined, a deficiency and excess that will continue to impede his personal development and his chivalric career.

With the giant dead, the last obstacle on Perceval's search for his mother is removed. The quest leads him back to the place in the wilderness to which his mother Acheflour had withdrawn after the death of his father to protect her son from the pernicious influence of martial chivalry. The course of action taken by Perceval, however, shows that he follows in the footsteps of his father, who had desired a knightly career for his son (ll. 119–20). Against his mother's express wish to keep her son away from tournaments and other knightly sports, Perceval aspires to become a knight after his meeting with Gawain, Ywain, and Key. He sets out for Arthur's court, liberates Lufamour and marries her, and becomes lord of her country. This concludes the construction of his chivalric identity, a fact supported in Chrétien and Wolfram by the death of Perceval's mother, of which the protagonist is guilty and for which he has to atone. This penance is part of the process of self-realization and maturation that Perceval has to undergo on his way to becoming a responsible member of aristocratic society. If, however, the mother remains alive and the protagonist wants to return to her, even though he is now married, the process of maturation and separation from the mother is incomplete. Thus, the quest for the mother in the second part of the romance is actually a regression, illustrated by Perceval's actions accompanying the recovery of his mother. He divests himself of his armour, puts on his old garments made of goatskin, and rushes into the forest, in order to rescue the woman in whose womb he once lay — 'I laye in hir side' (l. 2176) — and whose bed he shared (ll. 417–19). The oedipal implications of this statement are obvious. We witness an arrested development: The ascent to the chivalric world of his father is followed by a descent into the maternal womb, symbolized by the dense wood, in which he is reunited with her.

---

[36] Cf. the 'bold Barron' (l. 33), who 'cryd himselfe a king' (l. 91), in *The Marriage of Sir Gawain* in *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*, ed. by Thomas Hahn (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 363, 365. This 'Wilde Man', carrying a club, challenges Arthur's kingship in the natural sphere of the Inglewood Forest.

[37] *Ywain and Gawain*, ed. by Mills, p. 193.

This circular movement is supported by the ring that Acheflour gives to her son as sign of recognition before he leaves for Arthur's court. In contrast to the versions by Chrétien and Wolfram, where the young man forces the ring off the tent-lady's/Jeschute's finger against her vociferous objections, he exchanges rings with the sleeping maiden in the Middle English romance. The ring that has to be recovered from the giant reunites mother and son; metaphorically speaking, Perceval is bonding once more with his mother. Unlike the ring in *King Horn* that serves as a sign of recognition for the two lovers, Horn and Rymenhild, or as the instrument that reunites the hero and his wife after a long separation in *Sir Isumbras*, thus signifying their 'unity of person',[38] the ring in *Sir Perceval of Gales* brings about an initial catastrophe, because, upon seeing it in the possession of the giant, Acheflour believes her son to be dead, killed by the giant. Overcome by grief, she tears off her clothes 'And to þe wodd gan scho go […]. Now es the lady wode I-wys, | And wilde in þe wodde scho is' (ll. 2158, 2162–63). The author uses the theme of sudden madness, expressed by the homonym 'wod(d)e'. Severely disturbed (often by rejection like Yvain and Lancelot), the protagonist leaves civilization behind and withdraws to the woods. The recovery of the ring occasions Perceval's resumption of an intimate, quasi-incestuous relationship with his mother, which is accentuated by the circular structure of the narrative. The roles of mother and son, though, have been reversed. While in the beginning the mother protected her son, now the son protects the mother and carries her on his shoulders out of the woods back to the giant's castle, where she will be cured of her madness by a magic potion that induces a therapeutic sleep. The bath and the new clothes symbolize her return to civilization. The return of mother and son to Lady Lufamour's court terminates Perceval's arrested development and corrects his regressive sexual orientation. He re-enters the masculine realm of his father, in order to resume his duties as king and ruler.

---

[38] Elizabeth Fowler, 'The Romance Hypothetical: Lordship and Saracens in *Sir Isumbras*', in *The Spirit of Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Ad Putter and Jane Gilbert (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 97–121 (p. 102).

The romance, however, does not end at this point. There are four more lines, in which the author informs us that Perceval went to the Holy Land, where he died a holy death after conquering many towns. One can read this ending as a conventional, pious conclusion: A knight attains salvation and heavenly glory by dying on a crusade.[39] Sir Degrevant, the protagonist of a romance by the same name, also dies fighting in the Holy Land.[40] If, however, one reads *Sir Perceval of Gales* as the hero's continued confrontation with representatives of otherness, then the ending is not just an afterthought or pious reflex, but can be regarded as the epitome of his struggle. One last time he takes on the enemies who had threatened Arthur's court, the Maidenland and its Christian ruler, and Perceval's immediate family. Representatives of this anti-world had invaded these areas, threatening to destroy the political, social, and familiar order. The threat emanating from these agents of otherness differs in nature and manner from ordinary challenges facing Arthur's court. It cannot be contained by adventures to be performed by a member of this court, who by his victory confirms the superior ethics of Arthurian society and strives to integrate the defeated opponents into the Round Table.[41] Chrétien's *Perceval* as well as Wolfram's *Parzival* follow this pattern, even though the alternative knightly society of the grail kingdom with its superior moral values as envisioned by Wolfram will ultimately replace Arthur's court as the centre of Christian chivalry. As has been pointed out in the introduction, the agents of otherness, however, to be fought and overcome by the protagonist in *Sir Perceval of Gales* are beyond integration, because witches, unbaptized Saracens, and heathen giants lack the prerequisites necessary for incorporation into the Round Table:

---

[39] Cf. N. H. G. E. Veldhoen, 'I Haffe Spedde Better Þan I Wend: Some Notes on the Structure of the M.E. *Sir Perceval of Galles*', *Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters*, 11 (1981), 279–86 (p. 282).

[40] One of the two manuscripts of *Sir Degrevant*, usually dated from the late fourteenth century, is also recorded in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91. The reference to 'Perceuelle' in l. 23 indicates that the author knew the Perceval story, perhaps *Sir Perceval of Gales* and its ending. Together with Arthur, Perceval, and Gawain, Sir Degrevant is known to have been a brave knight 'In Haythynnes and in Spayne' (l. 21). This coincidence might explain the ending of *Sir Degrevant*. The author may have modelled his ending on that of *Sir Perceval of Gales*, even though in this case it is just tagged on and is of no relevance to the story about a knight who is a paragon of courtliness. See *The Romance of Sir Degrevant*, ed. by L. F. Casson, EETS, 221 (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 114; Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, ll. 1910–16.

[41] This pattern is preserved in the following English Arthurian romances: *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, *The Turke and Sir Gawain*, and *The Jeast of Sir Gawain*.

knightly excellence, adherence to a common code of ethics, and the right faith. They remain dangerous outsiders who have to be annihilated to preserve courtly order.[42] The story of Perceval demonstrates that knightly nature (*kynde*) inherited from a noble father will not only check the advance of these hostile forces, but will also prevail against them. This nature comes to the fore, even though the protagonist's formal education remains minimal. Perceval's hypermasculinity, that is, his superabundance of strength, helps him to be successful in his fight against the agents of otherness. This hypermasculinity, however, despite Perceval's gynecentric conditioning, may also be the reason for his insufficient socialization and his eventual emancipation from matriarchal society. He leaves both his mother and his wife to undergo the ultimate test of a Christian knight: the *passagium* to the Holy Land.

Crusades are not only a male domain, but also the highest goal for a *miles christianus*, who goes to the Holy Land as either *peregrinus* or *crucesignatus*. Even though no more crusades took place in the first half of the fourteenth century, the assumed date of composition of *Sir Perceval of Gales*, the idea was still very much alive. As Christopher Tyerman observes: 'The 1330s was possibly the last decade in which the Holy Land and its Mamluk conquerors could be regarded in the West as the primary military target for an Eastern expedition'.[43] After the start of the Hundred Years War, however, the political situation had changed so much that no one could seriously expect to see another engagement in the Holy Land. Edward III invested all his money in the war against France, not in an uncertain campaign for the liberation of Jerusalem. Still, the idea of a crusade to the Holy Land lived on, as is borne out by both the great number of recovery treatises, which contain detailed plans for such an enterprise,[44] and the numerous romances that recount the heroic exploits of Christian knights in the Holy Land. In these romances, which deal with the deeds of individual knights, the heroic Christian fighter sets out for the Holy Land and single-handedly regains territories that the Knights Templar and the other military orders have lost. These romances become loci of imagination upon which wish-fulfilling fantasies are projected like the assumed superiority of the Christian knight fighting for and upholding the values of the Occident in a morally depraved Orient. Thus, Isumbras, his wife, and his three sons can kill thirty thousand and three Saracens; Octavian, together with his lioness, a whole Saracen army; and Perceval four hundred Saracens in one preliminary battle. In *Sir Isumbras*, moreover, the victorious hero gains three kingdoms and baptizes their inhabitants at sword point. In *Octavian,* the sultan's daughter receives baptism voluntarily and marries Octavian's twin brother Florent, who is a great destroyer of Saracens in his own right. In *Sir Perceval of Gales*, as has been mentioned, the hero, fighting heroically for the Christian cause, meets with a sanctified death that may have been similar to that of Jakelin de Mailly, who was killed on 1 May 1187 after fighting off thousands of Muslim warriors. As the chronicler reports in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*:

---

[42] Cf. *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, where the braggart King Cornwell, who employs the services of a monster, is dispatched by King Arthur himself.

[43] Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 229.

[44] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 22–37, 383–84.

> he was not afraid to die for Christ. At long last, crushed rather than conquered by spears, stones and lances, he sank to the ground and joyfully passed to heaven with the martyr's crown, triumphant. It was indeed a gentle death with no place for sorrow, when one man's sword had constructed such a great crown for himself from the crowd laid all around him. Death is sweet when the victor lies encircled by the impious people he has slain with his victorious right hand [...]. Such a great number of Turks had rushed in to attack, and this one man had fought for so long against so many battalions, that the field on which they stood was completely reduced to dust.[45]

One of the men recovering the corpse was so moved by this sight that 'he cut off the man's genitals, and kept them safe for begetting children so that when dead the man's members — if such a thing were possible — would produce an heir with courage as great as his'.[46] It is possible! From the seed of the brave

---

[45] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi'*, trans. by Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 25–26. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 18 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1962), pp. 248–49: 'mori pro Christo non timuit, sed telis, lapidibus, lanceis oppressus magis quam victus, vix tandem occumbens ad celos feliciter cum palma martyrii triumphator migravit. Mors quidem micior et ad sensum dolor non venerat, cum unius viri gladius tantam circumiacentis turbe struxisset coronam. Dulce viro sic occumbere, ubi victor ipse in medio et in circuitu impii, quos dextera victrice consumpsit. [...] Turcorum autem multitudo tanta irruerat, et vir unus contra tot acies tam diu conflixit, ut campus, in quo stabant, totus resolveretur in pulverem'.

[46] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 26; Mayer, *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 249: 'abscisis viri genitalibus ea tanquam in usum gignendi reservare disposuit, ut vel mortua membra, si fieri posset, virtutis tante suscitarent heredem'.

Knight Templar spring the heroes of romance who fight and die in the service of the cross. The conclusion of *Sir Perceval of Gales*, therefore, could be more than a conventional pious ending. Rather, Perceval's *passagium* to the Holy Land epitomizes his battle against otherness, because the antagonists he defeated at home appear in a more formidable guise in the Orient, which in many Middle English popular romances becomes a paradigm of alterity. The end of the romance recapitulates the previous action and completes the moral education of the protagonist, an education that up to this point has been haphazard and incomplete.

In conclusion, let me return to the consideration of real and imaginary space. As Martin Camargo has reminded us in his trenchant study of *The Book of John Mandeville*, 'geography has […] a rhetorical function: the shape of the world and the customs of those who inhabit it teach a moral lesson'.[47] John Mandeville's geography is bounded by England and its antipode, the realm of the Christian king Prester John, with Jerusalem at its centre as shown on the O-T maps. The moral lesson imparted on the journey is that Christians far off the spiritual centre are too deeply steeped in perversion to regain possession of Jerusalem, unless they reform — a very unlikely turn of events in view of the divisiveness, heterodoxy, and sinfulness pervading the West. Whereas Mandeville's dilatory narrator/traveler journeys in a circuitous manner from England to Jerusalem to Prester John's kingdom and back, the self-assured crusaders in popular romance, Sir Perceval among them, proceed straight to their destination, the Holy Land. Unlike the morally flawed inhabitants of the Occident in *The Book of John Mandeville*, the heroes in the romances collected by Robert Thornton are never confronted with either moral failure or ultimate defeat, because even though they might not succeed in the conquest of the terrestrial Jerusalem, they will attain the Heavenly Jerusalem in death, as does Sir Perceval. The moral lesson taught in these romances is a positive one: Christian piety and Catholic orthodoxy, as exemplified by the hero, will triumph over all enemies within and without who threaten the Christian commonwealth. There is no need for profound reformation and spiritual reorientation. Representing the literary tastes and religious convictions of his class (members of the minor gentry, wealthy landowners, and officeholders), Robert Thornton, in his choice of narratives (both secular writings and devotional literature), affirms a world in which evil, often in the shape of otherness, can be overcome or banished to the margins of society. In fifteenth-century England, troubled by civil and religious strife (erosion of law and order during the minority of Henry VI, the Wars of the Roses, and Lollardy), this image of the small world at home emerging from the romances collected in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, folios 98^{v}–176^{r}, however, is no less fabulous and fantastic than that of the large world abroad depicted in *The Book of John Mandeville*.

---

[47] Martin Camargo, '*The Book of John Mandeville* and the Geography of Identity', in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imagination*, ed. by David A. Sprunger and Timothy S. Jones (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), pp. 67–84 (p. 69).

SPATIAL RHETORIC IN *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

Denise Stodola

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight is a very complex and challenging poem that provides a unique reading experience for its modern audience. The poem presents a dizzyingly complex structure to the reader, which, as Martin Camargo suggests in his analysis of the poem in his article 'Oral-Traditional Structure in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', permits the reader to 'learn from the story that we have a lot to learn and that things are never quite what they seem to be'.[1] In fact, the audience experiences the text from a different perspective than Gawain, because the audience is privy to word choice at the narrative level, while Gawain inhabits that level, with access only to the action and dialogue in which he is immediately involved. In other words, while this dramatic irony allows the audience to respond to the poem's overall structure and its narratival word choice, Gawain, as a fictional character, cannot do so.

---

[1] Martin Camargo, 'Oral-Traditional Structure in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions: A Memorial for Milman Parry*, ed. by John M. Foley (Columbus, OH: Slavica Press, 1987), pp. 121–37 (p. 121).

Denise Stodola is Associate Professor of Communication at Kettering University, where she teaches courses in literature, humanities, communication, and leadership ethics. She has published articles on the teaching of writing in the medieval and modern periods, as well as on the multimodality of rhetoric in modern ecological movements. In addition, she supplied the chapter on 'The Medieval Period' for *The Present State of Scholarship in the History of Rhetoric: A Twenty-First Century Guide* (2010). Interested in ethics and affect in medieval literature (the latter addressed by her essay for this volume), she is also interested in the teaching of writing in the Middle Ages and its continuities in — and differences from — modern pedagogical practices.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 173–187 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107454

The structure of the poem also sets up a dynamic in which the audience initially identifies with Gawain as the protagonist; through dramatic irony, however, the audience's awareness of events diverges from the protagonist's awareness and understanding, and, ultimately, the audience potentially learns something from Gawain's mysterious quest to find the Green Knight, the enigmatic figure who will return the axe blow that Gawain gave him at Christmas. Gawain, however, may not learn the same lesson. This divergence of the audience's awareness and the protagonist's awareness is traceable through the narrative presence of the word 'left', which appears in the text as *lyft* or *lyfte*. In addition to being a spatial direction, the word also held pejorative connotations during the Middle Ages.

The word 'left', used in its adjectival form, appears at four critical junctures within the poem: after Gawain leaves Camelot and sets off on his journey to find the Green Knight; at the moment that Gawain first greets Lady Bertilak; immediately after Gawain refuses the guide's offer of concealing Gawain's cowardice should he decide not to meet the Green Knight, at the point when Gawain takes directions from the guide on how to reach the Green Chapel; and, finally, in the physical description of how Gawain wears the Green Girdle once he returns to Camelot. I'd like to suggest that this verbal cue, which is provided to the readers through the narrative and to Gawain in only one dialogical instance, not only potentially promotes confusion and anxiety within the audience, but that, at times, the readers' anxiety may occur at different points than Gawain's, a situation, in itself, that is likely to cause additional audience apprehensiveness. In addition, the use of 'left' appears in its own structured form: in two sets of two, each set beginning with a scene in which 'left' is used to indicate a direction Gawain must heed as he maneuvers through geographical space.[2] As such, the use of 'left' has textual, structural implications, while, at the same time, it serves as a special sort of signifier within the poem, thereby constituting a form of spatial rhetoric.[3] This spatial rhetoric induces a potential emotional reaction in the audience through the connotations of the word 'left' as the audience begins to understand, before Gawain does, that the quest he is undertaking has moral and spiritual implications rather than merely physical ones.[4]

---

[2] Ordelle Hill suggests that the journeys that Gawain must make have actual physical referents in the English and Welsh countryside, that the literary fiction coincides with the political reality of the time, and that it embodies many of the attitudes that the English would have had about Wales and its inhabitants. Further, Hill asserts that, 'as for the Plantagenet audience, Gawain's physical, political, and spiritual journey becomes not only a path for understanding a land and people that had hitherto been known only as difficult and barbaric, but also a means of understanding themselves'. See Ordelle A. Hill, *Looking Westward: Poetry, Landscape, and Politics in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2009), p. 76. While Hill does not analyse the particulars of how the audience members would gain greater understanding of themselves, that dynamic is my focus in this article.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to justify a reading of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* that incorporates an affective critical approach as part of its overall method. Although the technique of gauging the audience's affective response went out of favour with the publication of Wimsatt's *Verbal Icon* in 1954, since then various critics have voiced their dissatisfaction with the moratorium placed on discussion of a reader's emotional response to literature, and have done so with the help of reader-response proponents.[5] Perhaps one of the earliest and most vehement responses to Wimsatt's 'Affective Fallacy' was Stanley Fish, who addresses in his 1970 article 'Literature in the Reader: Affective Stylistics' the 'explanatory power of a method of analysis which takes the reader, as an actively mediating presence, fully into account, and which, therefore, has as its focus the "psychological effects" of the utterance'.[6] Fish makes a strong case that, unlike those operating within the Formalist school of criticism, he sees value in examining not just what the poem is, as a material construct, but also what it does.[7] Similarly, Wolfgang Iser, in *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*, advances the notion that, although each reader brings to the text a different set of expectations and previous experiences that will necessarily shape her reading process and what she takes from it, the literary text creates a particular perspective, and that 'by virtue of this standpoint, the reader is situated in such a position that he can assemble the meaning toward which the perspectives of the text have guided him'.[8] These perspectives, for Iser, take shape temporally, as the reader moves through the text, a phenomenon he calls the 'temporal character of the reading process'.[9]

---

[3] The notion of spatial rhetoric is not new: it has been incorporated most readily by the disciplines of composition and communication theory. In fact, a recent issue of *Kairos* is devoted to the concept. See *Spatial Praxes: Theories of Space, Place, and Pedagogy*: *Kairos* 16.3 (Summer 2012). The notion of spatial rhetoric was articulated most eloquently by Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989). Soja takes the notion further with *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Globalization and Community Series (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). While Soja focuses on spatial rhetoric, Michel de Certeau adds motion to this idea in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven F. Rendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), especially the chapter entitled 'Walking in the City' (pp. 91–110). While 'spatial rhetoric' does not align fully with 'visual rhetoric', which is, ostensibly, a more familiar term, there are similarities. Visual rhetoric, according to Stephen A. Bernhardt, is 'the study of all visual signs [...] [including] kinesics (or body language) and proxemics (or the study of how speaker/interlocutor distance, posture, and touch affect interpersonal communication)'. See his entry for 'spatial rhetoric' in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition*, ed. by Theresa Enos (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 746–48. While my application overlaps with the notion of kinesics within the parameters of visual rhetoric, in this case, the communication is between text and reader primarily, rather than an interpersonal form of communication between two individuals who are able to see each other while communicating.

[4] Joseph Turner suggests that the modern age has drawn too stringent a line between literature and rhetoric, a sentiment with which I wholeheartedly agree. See Joseph Turner, '*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the History of Medieval Rhetoric', *Rhetoric Review*, 31 (2012), 371–88 (p. 371).

[5] See W. K. Wimsatt, *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), pp. 21–39.

An understanding of this dynamic informs my reading of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, especially as it relates to the use of the word 'left' at critical points within the text. The use of the word indicating a relative spatial position serves as a catalyst for an emotional response in the reader that creates at least a temporary distance between Gawain, as the protagonist, and the audience of the poem. Yet before applying the notion of spatial rhetoric and tracking its interaction with the emotional capacities of the reader, it is necessary to take a closer look at the word 'left' and its connotations, most of which would have been known to a medieval audience through various means.[10]

---

[6] See Stanley E. Fish, 'Literature in the Reader: Affective Stylistics', *New Literary History*, 2.1 (1970), 123–62 (p. 123).

[7] See Fish, 'Literature in the Reader', p. 125.

[8] See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 38.

[9] See Iser, *The Act of Reading*, p. 150.

[10] The pejorative connotations of the word would have been familiar through the mystery plays, which often placed the hell mouth stage left. Thus, even those who did not read would have been familiar with the notion. In fact, Ming-tsang Yang suggests the ubiquity of the hell-mouth image, stating that the 'entrance to hell [...] was often represented as a gigantic mouth that consumed sinners, as witnessed in wall paintings, stained-glass windows, carvings, manuscript illuminations, and even stage props in mystery cycle plays in [the] fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'. See Ming-tsang Yang, 'Textual Vision and Visual Text: Envisioning the Vernacular Text in the House of Fame', <http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~bcla/e_book/69/6909.pdf>, [accessed 13 September 2013]. For additional information on hell-mouth iconography, see Pamela Sheingorn, 'Who Can Open the Doors of his Face? The Iconography of Hell Mouth', in *The Iconography of Hell*, ed. by Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 1–19. Mystery play cycles often treated the subjects

As previously mentioned, the word had pejorative implications in the Middle Ages, clearly suggested by its etymological root in the Anglo-Saxon word *left*, or *lyft*, meaning 'weak'.[11] The word is likely cognate with the Middle English word 'leper', which, as a disease, would certainly have signalled weakness. *Lyft* also appears in the Old English combination *lyft-ádl*, meaning 'paralysis'.[12] The notion of physical weakness is also illustrated in the *Middle English Dictionary*, which similarly indicates that the notions of inefficiency and potential moral weakness — even evil — can be applied to the term.[13] In the Old English Homilies of Trin-C B14.52, we are told that 'Each man must bear an angel on his right side, and on his left, a cursed spirit'.[14] This sense of 'evil' appears in the same work when it states that 'whoredom is suffered to stand at Jesus Christ's left hand'.[15] More explicitly, in *Louerd asse þu ard*, we are told that Satan can be found over the left shoulder.[16] These religious references using 'left' are also found in the Bible, in Matthew 25. 41, which states 'Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels"'. The word's connotations shifted metonymically over time, initially indicating the notion of physical 'weakness' and later indicating the notion of spiritual evil. Indeed, in Matthew 26. 41, the juxtaposition of physical, bodily weakness with spiritual failure suggests an explicit causality, as we are warned to 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak'.

The definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary* affirm these connotations of 'weakness'. The first entry for the word 'left' as an adjective states that it is 'the distinctive epithet of the hand which is normally the weaker of the two'

---

of the harrowing of hell and the last judgement. In plays like these, the mouth of hell would be placed stage left. The plays would be part of a pageant, with a wagon taken to various locales for performances. Guilds were often highly involved in these productions. Because of the spatial movement of the plays (staged on the performance wagon, which was moved from place to place) and the participation of guilds, many laypeople would have been exposed to this particular placement of hell.

[11] Eric Partridge, *A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (London: Routledge, 1958; repr. New York: Greenwich House, 1983), p. 344.

[12] Partridge, *A Short Etymological Dictionary*, p. 344.

[13] *The Middle English Dictionary*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>.

[14] *MED*. 'Elch man haueð to fere on engel […] on his rihthalf […] and on his lifthalf an wereged gost'. All translations from the Middle English are my own.

[15] *MED*, 'þe hordom drien stonden an […] ihesu cristes lift hond'.

[16] *MED*, 'Loke ouir þine luft sculdere Sathanas anon'.

(A.1.a),[17] a meaning that appears in Middle English for the first time in the thirteenth century in *Laȝamon Brut*, in a phrase that reinforces this idea of 'weakness': 'A noble warrior struck Lear grievously on his left side through the heart'.[18] By indicating that the sword passed clean through the heart, which, in comparison to the sword, is physically weak, the phrase also perhaps indicates that the human body is weak on the left side precisely because the heart is there and is a vulnerable organ. The notion of 'weakness' is still traceable in the fourteenth century in three different works cited by the *OED*. In *Pricke of Conscience*, a poem on the end of days dating from *c.* 1340, the description of the body failing during death reiterates weakness, as is indicated by the phrase 'His left eye then seems smaller and narrower than the right eye'.[19] This use of *lyft* as 'weakness' takes on religious connotations as well: a quotation from *Piers Plowman* states, 'As our Lord teaches, do not let your left half know what the right side is doing',[20] indicating that the left side is, perhaps, untrustworthy and potentially evil, an idea reiterated in the use of *lyft* in another poem by the Pearl Poet — *Cleanness*. In this poem, we are told that 'It was lusty Lot's wife that looked over her left shoulder'.[21] Since Lot's wife was guilty of a spiritual failure and defied God's injunction by looking back at Sodom, she was punished by being turned into a pillar of salt.

Because the word *lyft* functions with these complex connotations, it serves as a distinctive signifier at the micro-level of diction and at the macro-level of overall narrative structure, operating as spatial rhetoric in that it persuades the audience, by tapping into their potentially emotional reactions to the word, that one's spiritual life is far more important than the physical one — a lesson it takes Gawain a bit longer to learn. First, however, it is necessary for the reader to identify with the protagonist, so that she cares about what happens to Gawain through the course of the narrative.[22] This is accomplished when

---

[17] The *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com/>.

[18] *OED*. '[He] smat Leir þene eorl sære a þa lift side þurh-ut þa heorte'.

[19] *OED*, 'Þe lefte eghe of hym þan semes les And narower þan þe right eghe es'.

[20] *OED*, 'Let nat þy lyft half, oure lord techeþ, Ywite what þow delest with þy ryht syde'. This biblical quote originates in Matthew 6. 3, which advises on how to give alms. In this case, one is 'righteous' when giving alms, and thus, the act should be done with the right hand. *MED* suggests that *right* means 'moral rectitude or righteousness'. In this instance, then, if the right side indicates righteousness, it is clear that the left indicates the opposite.

[21] *OED*, 'Hit watz lusty lothes wyf þat [looked] ouer her lyfte schulder'.

[22] All Middle English quotes from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (hereafter *SGGK*) are taken from *The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron

Gawain presents himself as an unworthy but willing alternate for King Arthur in the Green Knight's game, especially as no one else in Camelot is overly eager to take on the challenge. The reader also knows that Gawain intends to keep his promise to the Green Knight even though he is understandably concerned about whether he will manage to survive the Green Knight's blow. We are given a glimpse of Gawain's nervousness when we are told that, as he is leaving Camelot, he 'told them all goodbye, | as he believed, forevermore'.[23] Shortly after the audience processes this emotional cue from the protagonist, the word *lyft* appears for the first time as Gawain leaves Camelot and is on the first leg of his journey to locate the Green Knight:

> He had no companion but his horse by forests and hills,
> Nor no man but God to talk with on the road —
> Until he approached near North Wales.
> All the isles of Anglesey he keeps to his **left side**
> And journeys over the fords by the low lands near the sea
> Over at **Holy Head**, until he had later reached the hill
> In the wilderness of Wirral. He remained there only briefly
> In that place that neither God nor man with a good heart loved.[24]

In this instance, the last information given the audience about Gawain's state of mind was the fear that his good-bye to Camelot would be his last. In that context, the word *lyft* may have sinister connotations for the audience, who would be likely to have some familiarity with the potentially pejorative connotations of the word.

In fact, the description of Gawain immediately before this quoted passage implies that he might have been lonely, as he was all alone, and that he was not able to find the kind of food he liked (l. 694), two details hardly indica-

---

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 209–321.

[23] *SGGK*, ll. 668–69: '[He] gef hem alle goud day | He wende for euermore'.

[24] *SGGK*, ll. 695–702 (emphasis added): 'Hade he no fere bot his fole bi frythez and dounez, | Ne no gome bot God bi gate wyth to karp — | Til þat he neȝed ful neghe into þe Norþe Walez. | Alle þe iles of Anglesay on **lyft** half he haldez | And farez ouer þe fordez by þe forlondez; | Ouer at þe **Holy Hede**, til he hade eft bonk | In þe wyldrenesse of Wyrale. Wonde þer bot lyte | Þat auþer God oþer gome wyth goud hert louied'. Such landscapes in *SGGK*, according to Sebastian Sobecki, rather than constituting a proto-modern type of verisimilitude, function largely as conventional figures. See Sebastian Sobecki, 'Nature's Farthest Verge or Landscapes Beyond Allegory and Rhetorical Convention? The Case of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and Petrarch's "Ascent of Mount Ventoux"', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: International Review of English Studies*, 42 (2006), 463–75.

tive of any heightened distress or apprehension, although the audience, on the other hand, might indeed be feeling apprehensive, as the 'forest of Wirral was a notorious refuge for outlaws in the fourteenth century'.[25] Certainly, the medieval audience would have likely known the route that Gawain was taking, as this geographical description is very specific and corresponds to real, identifiable locations.[26] In fact, Andrew and Waldron suggest that the Pearl Poet 'probably knew, and expected his original audience to know, this part of the journey'.[27] Interestingly, the contrast between the negative elements in the passage, including the use of the word 'left', is maintained, and even heightened, as God is mentioned twice in seven lines, and the term 'Holy Head' is used in line 700; however, Andrew and Waldron suggest that, while the term may refer to the geographical location of Holywell, it does not refer to Holy Head in Anglesey.[28] Although it is impossible to say if the poet made this change deliberately, the change from 'well' to 'head' in these geographical locations would, in any case, raise the spectre of Gawain's mortality, as he is on his way to see a man who may very well remove his head. The word 'left', then, and the connotative and denotative linguistic matrix in which it occurs, would necessarily create a sense of anxiety in the audience that Gawain is not shown to possess at this point. Moreover, the inability of the audience to identify with Gawain's emotional state in this instance would likely create further apprehension for the audience.

This apprehension would probably increase at the next occurrence of *lyft*, which appears immediately after Gawain has been feasting and drinking heavily with Lord Bertilak (l. 900), while simultaneously impressing the other guests with his connection to Camelot.[29] In this instance, *lyft*, occurring in the second half of the alliterative line, is emphasized because of its alliteration with 'lady' and 'lad'. Although the reader gets no real sense of Gawain feeling any sort of angst, the reader cannot help but be concerned: Gawain is in the home of a stranger, drinking heavily, and is being complimented repeatedly.[30] In other words, the situation is ripe for someone to take advantage of Gawain. After the merriment, Gawain goes to chapel with his host and eventually gets a good look at Lady Bertilak, an event taking place, once again, within a contrastive linguistic context juxtaposing the physical features of the two women with the religious environment in which they meet Gawain:

---

[25] *The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet*, ed. by Andrew and Waldron, note to ll. 701–02.

[26] See Gillian Rudd, 'The Wilderness of Wirral in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Arthuriana*, 23.1 (2013), 52–65 (p. 62). Rudd suggests that the different landscapes through which Gawain must travel follow a trajectory from the 'implied known' of Camelot to the 'explicitly unknown' lands of Wirral and beyond.

[27] *The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet*, ed. by Andrew and Waldron, note to ll. 698–717.

[28] *The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet*, ed. by Andrew and Waldron, note to l. 699.

[29] Paul Battles analyses the degree of subjectivity in Gawain's first view of Hautdesert. See Paul Battles, '*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Stanzas 32–34', *The Explicator*, 67 (2008), 22–24. The kind of subjectivity that Battles describes, a subjectivity which appears and then recedes, can certainly evoke reader emotions, contributing to reader uncertainty and anxiety.

> Then the lady liked to look on the knight;
> Then she emerged from the enclosed **pew** with many lovely ladies.
> She was the most beautiful of flesh and face
> And of shape and color and manners, more than any other,
> And lovelier than Guinevere, as the man thought.
> Gawain made his way through the **chancel** to welcome that gracious lady.
> Another lady led her by the **left** hand.
> This lady was older than she—an ancient one, it seemed—,
> And was highly honoured by the noblemen around her.[31]

The reader is reminded of the explicitly religious setting by the words ‘chancel’ and ‘pew’ as two women whom Gawain has not yet met approach him. The mysteriousness of the two women is enough for the reader to at least wonder what role they play in the story and, given Gawain’s perhaps overly relaxed attitude after feasting and drinking, may be enough to cause some uncertainty for the reader. The lady, who is, as the reader eventually discovers, the primary agent who has orchestrated the various types of tests that Gawain must undergo,[32] is led by the left hand by a much older woman, who is later described as having 'rough, wrinkled cheeks' and being 'disgusting to see'.[33]

---

[30] See *SGGK*, ll. 902–27.

[31] *SGGK*, ll. 941–49 (emphasis added): ‘Þenne lyst þe lady to loke on þe knyȝt; | Þenne com ho of hir **closet** with mony cler burdez. | Ho watz þe fayrest in felle, of flesche and of lyre | And of compas and colour and costes, of alle oþer, | And wener þen Wenore, as þe wyȝe þoȝt. | Ho ches þurȝ þe **chaunsel** to cheryche þat hende. | Anoþer lady hir lad bi þe **lyft** honde | Þat watz alder þen ho, an auncian hit semed, | And heȝly honowred with haþelez aboute’.

[32] Lines 2456–62 make it clear that Morgan, in designing her machinations, has two purposes for the deception: to test the pride of the Round Table and to frighten Guinevere to death in the process. In other words, Morgan wants to discover whether the knights of Camelot actually deserve their sterling reputation. While Morgan does not directly control the events at Hautdesert, she is present there during the period of time in which Lady Bertilak tempts Gawain in the bedroom scenes. Just as the circumstances she has orchestrated will test Gawain’s honour as a knight publicly at Camelot, she has also put in motion the circumstances whereby Gawain’s honour, as a knight, will be tested privately by Lady Bertilak. Gawain does not discover the truth behind these tests until Lord Bertilak explains it for him. In fact, throughout most of the work, Gawain does not recognize the events in which he is involved as being ‘tests’ of any sort.

The audience is here not as interested in the young woman, perhaps, as Gawain seems to be; moreover, we are likely more concerned by Gawain's seeming infatuation, as she is the wife of Gawain's host. In addition, the description of the older woman, a description to which only the audience is privy, evokes for the audience the physical frailty of human flesh in the aging process, once again highlighting the notion of mortality. Indeed, Andrew and Waldron suggest that the older woman, whom we later discover to be Morgan le Fay, is 'described in terms reminiscent of religious lyrics of the "Signs of Old Age" and "Signs of Death" types' and that the two descriptions 'suggest the homiletic theme that old age is a mirror of the frailty of the flesh'.[34] Thus, we not only see the potentially negative connotations of 'leftness' in the image of the old woman leading the younger by the left hand, which is contrasted with the 'righteousness' of the setting, a contrast that is further emphasized by the contrast in the description of the two women, but we also fill in the gaps as readers: if we are aware that 'leftness' is grounded in the notion that physical weakness may lead to sin, then we have cause to be concerned for Gawain — a cause that is validated for us when we learn that the lady will test Gawain's moral fibre, and that the old woman is Morgan le Fay, who has engineered the test in order to undo Guinevere.[35] The heightened contrast between the two women and between the spiritual and physical elements within this linguistic matrix, however, raises questions for the audience and increases their apprehensiveness, which is only allayed once the older woman's identity is revealed later in the poem.[36] By the end of the poem we know, retrospectively, that Morgan’s intentions are far from pure (she not only wishes to test the quality of the Camelot knight, but she also wants to upset Guinevere enough to kill her) and understand explicitly what *lyft* means in regard to the two women. We then understand the appropriateness of Morgan leading Lady Bertilak by the left hand: Morgan’s ill-intended machinations have tainted Lady Bertilak, who is being used to test Gawain’s moral fibre, and the use of ‘leftness’ simultaneously and metonymically indicates the nature of the test — that the lady will play on Gawain’s weakness for his own physical well-being. After all, Gawain definitely wants to survive his encounter at the Green Chapel, and his attention is focused on it. Moreover, at the end of the poem, we understand our prior emotional uneasiness as we have moved through it temporally: that Gawain’s concern for his bodily safety and conformity to the ideals of knightly courtesy have blinded him to the real danger — the danger that he will commit a sin, which would endanger his soul.[37]

---

[33] See lines 953 and 963. Burrow suggests that the older woman, by leading the younger by the left hand, is placing the younger woman on the 'honorific right side', which would have been quite odd, as the older woman is clearly the dominant one in the pair. See J. A. Burrow, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 145–46.

[34] *The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet*, ed. by Andrew and Waldron, note to ll. 943–69.

[35] Stephanie Trigg suggests that the poem is decidedly 'woman-centered', as the test is designed and carried out by women in order to cause grief to another woman. See Stephanie Trigg, 'The Romance of Exchange: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Viator*, 22 (1991), 251–66 (p. 263).

[36] Bonnie Lander examines the recent critical attention to the ways in which the poem deconstructs certainty and suggests that the poem can be read as two kingdoms, Camelot and Hautdesert, engaging each other in a textual battle over certainty. In other words, Hautdesert becomes the force that deconstructs the moral certainty of Camelot. See Bonnie Lander, 'The Conventions of Innocence and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*'s Literary Sophisticates', *Parergon*, 24.1 (2007), 41–66.

These elements merge in the next occurrence of the word *lyft*, once Gawain has set off from Hautdesert with one other man serving as his guide to the Green Chapel. The established pattern of religious diction and imagery occurring in close proximity to the word ‘left’ resumes:

> ‘**Mary**!’ said the other man, ‘now you say
> That you intend to cause yourself injury.
> If you want to lose your life, then I do not care to hinder you.
> Have your helmet on your head, your spear in your hand,
> And ride down along this very stream, along the side of the rocks,
> Until you reach the bottom of the wild valley.
> Then look a bit toward the glade, on your **left hand**,
> And you shall see in that valley that very **chapel**
> And the noble warrior who keeps it.
> Now fare thee well, in **God**’s name, noble Gawain!
> I wouldn’t go with you for all the gold in the world,
> Nor keep you company through this forest one footstep further.’[38]

---

[37] Interestingly, the word ‘sin’ appears only once in the poem, ll. 1774–75, where Gawain insists to himself that he will not be a traitor to the host and ‘sin’ against him. Gawain’s concern is clearly for his knightly courtesy, which means that he is not aware of greater dangers. In fact, this appearance of the word ‘sin’ occurs during the scene in Gawain’s bedchamber, where the lady gives him the green girdle (ll. 1740–1869), a scene replete with religious imagery.

[38] *SGGK*, ll. 2140–51 (emphasis added): ‘“**Mary**!” quoþ þat oþer mon, “now þou so much spellez | Þat þou wylt þyn awen nye nyme to þyseluen | And þe lyst lese þy lyf, þe lette I ne kepe. | Haf here þi helme on þy hede, þi spere in þi honde, | And ryde me doun þis ilk rake, bi ȝon rokke syde, | Til þou be broȝt to þe boþem of þe brem valay. | Þenne loke a littel on þe launde,

Set in contrast to the specific reference to the 'left hand' are the elements of religious imagery invoked by the words 'Mary', 'chapel', and 'God'. These elements, in turn, are set in opposition to the notion of physical death that the guide emphasizes with the notion of 'injury' and with his accentuation on the accoutrements of the knight: helmet and spear. Moreover, the notion of 'left' is emphasized, once again, by its alliteration with 'loke', 'littel', and 'launde'. The guide's fear reinforces the audience's own alarm, but at this point, because Gawain is not shown to react to the guide's words, the audience's response once again occurs independently from Gawain's.

The description of the Green Chapel immediately following this passage, however, aligns Gawain's anxiety with that of the audience, causes the notions of physical and spiritual death to converge, and makes clear the appropriateness of placing the Green Chapel to Gawain's left side.[39] Indeed, the Green Chapel is situated in a hellish landscape, with Gawain stating that he believes that the chapel is a fitting place for the 'fiend' (l. 2193).[40] While Gawain's reaction to the landscape emphasizes spiritual danger, the word 'barrow', used to describe the site, is reminiscent of physical death, as a barrow is a burial mound.[41] In this one instance, the apprehensiveness of the audience matches Gawain's anxiety, just as the audience's concern for Gawain's spiritual danger is matched by his concern for his physical safety.

---

on þi **lyfte honde**, | And þou schal se in þat slade þe self **chapel** | And þe borelych burne on bent þat hit kepez. | Now farez wel, on **Godez** half, Gawayn þe noble! | For alle þe golde vpon grounde I nolde go wyth þe, | Ne bere þe felaȝschip þurȝ þis fryth on fote fyrre."'

[39] Karen Cherewatuk suggests that the 'most religious version of Gawain in the entire Arthurian corpus is seen as struggling to unite his sense of manhood and his Christianity', a reading compatible with my own. See Karen Cherewatuk, '*Becoming Male, Medieval Mothering*, and Incarnational Theology in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the *Book of Margery Kempe*', *Arthuriana*, 19.3 (2009), 15–24 (p. 22). For a different view of religion in the poem, see Larissa Tracy, 'A Knight of God or the Goddess? Rethinking Religious Syncretism in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Arthuriana*, 17.3 (2007), 31–55. In her article, Tracy's analysis of Gawain's pentangle indicates that the poem creates a parallel between Christianity and paganism, with neither given particular preference.

[40] Takami Matsuda suggests that a comparison of *SGGK* with 'St. Patrick's Purgatory' reveals that the subtext for the poem is a vision of the afterlife and acknowledges that Gawain's test is a spiritual one. See Takami Matsuda, '*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and St. Patrick's Purgatory', *English Studies*, 88 (2007), 497–505.

[41] For a more in-depth discussion of the Green Chapel's similarity to a burial mound, see Piotr Sadowski, *The Knight on his Quest: Symbolic Patterns of Transition in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), pp. 209–10.

Gawain, however, has learned something valuable, just as the audience for the poem has, as is apparent in the final use of the word *lyft*, which is deployed to describe Gawain's use of the Green Girdle as a symbol for his faults:

> Now Gawain rides the wild paths of the world
> On Gringolet, his life saved by **grace**.
> Often he lodged inside and often outside,
> And many perils in vales he often vanquished —
> In this tale I don't intend to recall them at this time.
> The hurt that he had received in his neck was healed
> And the shining belt he wore around it
> Diagonally, as a baldric, bound by his side,
> Fastened under his **left** arm, the girdle, with a knot,
> As a symbol that he was discovered to be stained with his fault.
> And thus he comes to court, a knight in complete safety.[42]

Significantly, *lyfte* alliterates with *loken* and *lace* and presents a conflation of both connotations of the word — as indicative of 'weakness' as well as 'wickedness', as the former often leads to the latter, with spiritual weakness leading to sin. Moreover, this description begins with a brief emphasis on the heroic knightly deeds Gawain has performed on his way back to Camelot from his encounter with the Green Knight, which emphasizes Gawain's physical prowess, and while Gawain's physicality has been his focus, as shown in his concern for his bodily safety, a focus of which we are reminded by the reference to the healed wound on his neck, the word 'grace' in the phrase 'his life saved by grace' lends a religious element to Gawain's physical safety, which implies a spiritual element to his condition as a 'knight [returning] in complete safety'. Moreover, the placement of the phrase 'in complete safety' immediately after the two lines in which we learn that Gawain has decided to wear the Green Girdle on his left side as a symbol of his spiritual faults indicates that 'complete safety' may very well connote both physical and spiritual safety. It is clear that Gawain has learned his lesson when, in line 2508, he states that he wears it as a token of his cowardice and as a token of the way that he coveted life. This pairing of 'cowardice' and 'covetousness' juxtaposes courtly and spiritual concerns, indicating that Gawain is now fully aware of both.

---

[42] *SGGK*, ll. 2479–89 (emphasis added): 'Wylde wayez in þe worlde Wowen now rydez | On Gryngolet, þat þe **grace** hade geten of his lyue; | Ofte he herbered in house and ofte al þeroute, | And mony a venture in vale he venquyst ofte | Þat I ne tyȝt at þis tyme in tale to remene. | Þe hurt watz hole þat he hade hent in his nek | And þe blykkande belt he bere þeraboute | Abelef, as a bauderyk, bounden bi his syde, | Loken vnder his **lyfte** arme, þe lace, with a knot, | In tokenyng he watz tane in tech of a faute. | And þus he commes to þe court, knyȝt al in sounde'. Susan Powell suggests that the Middle English word 'loken' should be taken to mean 'lock', which is also used in the description of the pentangle on Gawain's shield, which, in turn, likens the pentangle to the axe. See Susan Powell, 'Untying the Knot: Reading *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *New Perspectives on Middle English Texts: A Festschrift for R. A. Waldron*, ed. by Susan Powell and Jeremy J. Smith (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 55–74. Note especially pp. 62–63.

The juxtaposition between physical and spiritual through the use of the word *lyft* also occurs at the level of the poem's overall structure, and follows a specific trajectory at the line level as well. The word's use occurs in two sets of two, each set beginning with the use of *lyft* within a spatial context, relating to the path, or journey, that Gawain will follow, the first leg of the journey taking him to Hautdesert, where the real test, a spiritual one, will occur, and the second leg taking him to the Green Chapel, where Gawain believes the real test, a physical one, to be:

Set 1: A) Line 698: Gawain begins his physical journey, once he leaves Camelot; *lyft* is in the second half-line but is not an alliterative element.

B) Line 947: Gawain meets the beautiful Lady Bertilak; *lyft* is in the second half-line and is an alliterative element.

Set 2: A) Line 2146: Gawain receives direction from the guide on how to reach the Green Chapel, which Gawain likens to hell; *lyft* is in the second half-line and is an alliterative element.

B) Line 2487: Gawain wears the Green Girdle as a sign of his fault once he returns to Camelot; *lyft* is in the first half-line and is an alliterative element in a pattern that includes the Green Girdle through the word *lace*.

Moreover, the second occurrence of *lyft* in each set of two emphasizes the individual physical body while simultaneously invoking the notion of the spiritual. In the first instance, Lady Bertilak's physical beauty is contrasted with the ugliness of the woman who leads her by the left hand, the two women concealing their real identities and motive, which is to test Gawain's moral fibre; and in the second, Gawain's external and explicit physical placement of the Green Girdle indicates his moral fault. Furthermore, each use of the word 'left' appears in a matrix that juxtaposes the notion of spiritual danger inherent in the word's meaning with the physical danger that remains Gawain's primary concern for much of the poem. As such, there is a distance between the type of danger that Gawain perceives and that which the audience perceives, a distance bridged only once Bertilak reveals to Gawain that Gawain has been tested by Morgan le Fay. Indeed, while Gawain was mostly concerned for his physical well-being, his spiritual being was also tested.

This distance between what Gawain and the audience believe to be the most dangerous threats to him seems to have a bigger purpose. In effect, it highlights the bifurcation of the spiritual and physical we have seen throughout the poem, so that when Gawain acknowledges his spiritual fault, the audience's emphasis on the spiritual dangers to Gawain are even more firmly cemented. After all, the tests that Morgan le Fay has designed initially seem to focus only on physical prowess, although Gawain's moral fibre has also been tested. Moreover, if, as Piotr Sadowsky suggests, the 'larger cycle of the entire story, covering the full calendar year, reflects allegorically the span of human life',[43] then the poem could have a didactic purpose: to instill within the audience a stronger sense of the importance of spiritual matters. Gawain has been distracted from the significance of his spiritual identity by his concerns for courtliness, a mistake not to be repeated.

Penelope Reed Doob describes *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as a unicursal labyrinth,[44] which seems particularly apropos for the reader of the poem, who may not, on a first reading, know where the poem is headed, but knows that there is an end point somewhere. As a metaphorical structure, the labyrinth reflects a notion put forth by Judson Boyce Allen, who states that, for a poem like *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 'meaning must arise out of the dialectic motion through its parts that is the experience of its characters', and that 'the experience of it is its meaning'.[45] By analysing the word *lyft* and its connotations, and understanding that its appearance in the poem constitutes a type of spatial rhetoric that summons an emotional response from the audience and persuades them, albeit subtly, that one's spiritual self is far more valuable than the physical, we are taking Allen's advice to 'experience' the poem. This act of reading illustrates the meaningful differences between Gawain's anxiety and our own to remind us, as the audience, not to neglect the spiritual in favour of the physical.

---

[43] Sadowski, *The Knight on his Quest*, p. 207.

[44] See Penelope Reed Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 206.

[45] See Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 92–93.

Part IV

Arts and Education

COMMENTARY ON *DE MODO DICENDI ET MEDITANDI LIBELLUS*, A TWELFTH-CENTURY GUIDE TO PRAYER AND MEDITATION COMPOSED IN FRANCE AT THE AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY OF ST VICTOR UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF HUGH

Timothy Spence

Prologue

This work would not have been possible without Martin Camargo's insight and patience; my debt to him is incalculable. I dedicate my translation to the spirit of his attempts 'to make available a representative sample of textbooks used for teaching'.[1] His work has indeed done much to clarify the origins, roles, and distinctive features of the *artes dictandi* in England. My translation is an attempt to provide access to a primary textbook used to teach the *artes orandi* and *artes meditandi* to youth under the tutelage of Hugh of St Victor and his disciples. The rhetorical theory that guided the compilation of this textbook reflects an audience disciplined in a Ciceronian method of composition. Like their contemporary *dictatores*, the French *oratores* trained under Victorines of this period 'were steeped in literary tradition founded on the study of classical authors and the composition of Latin verse'.[2] The compositional theory that emerges from

---

[1] Martin Camargo, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English 'Artes Dictandi' and their Tradition* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995), p. xii.

[2] Camargo, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition*, p. 2.

Timothy Spence teaches Latin to teenagers in Southwestern Virginia for Roanoke County Public Schools. Before moving to Virginia, he co-founded the Ragtag Cinema and its affiliated non-profit, Ragtag Programming for Film and Media Art, in Columbia, Missouri. His research focuses on the rhetoric of prayer, technologies of self, and lyrical mysticism.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 191–212 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107455

this *De modo orandi* and its associated discursive systems indicates that the Victorine pedagogy had as its goal the production of individuals who were able to freely 'invent' devotional prayer from material developed through meditation and contemplation, thereby fulfilling the social role of *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.

I

The following instructional treatise, *De modo dicendi*, was compiled by either Hugh of St Victor or one of his disciples. Jerome Taylor estimates that Hugh's *Didascalicon*, which serves as the base-text for most of this *De modo*, was written in Paris during the late 1120s.[3] Portions of the *De modo* are found in Oxford, Queens College, MS 328, a miscellany of French origins dated to the second half of the twelfth century, which means it was probably composed sometime between 1130 and 1175. This short work combines material from Hugh's *Didascalicon*, Book III, his first homily on Ecclesiastes, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, and Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica*. Only a few sentences seem to be original to this *De modo dicendi* composition itself and can cautiously be attributed to our compiler, who appears to be an educator. The intentional use of the second person singular in one original clause in particular, 'Tu vero, fili' (Indeed, son), indicates that the compiler imagined his audience as a male student, the teacher's pedagogic 'son'. The nature of the treatise's content also sheds light on the intended audience, which I think must have been at the end of their primary education. Sections 8 and 9, which deal with the differences among *cogitatio*, *meditatio*, and *contemplatio*, are drawn from Hugh's first homily on Ecclesiastes. This homily is replete with flamboyant language representative of the sublime truths open to a mature mind focused on divine subjects. The compiler of *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus* omits this advanced style and subject matter, which seems to indicate that the teacher is still working on primary definition and demonstration of these three related compositional modes, rather than the flamboyant application of the modes. Nevertheless, the students are at an advanced enough level to deal with the technical differences among *cogitatio*, *meditatio*, and *contemplatio*, which would place them in the more advanced levels of their primary education as *oratores*.

We can assume that the compiler of *De modo dicendi et meditandi* would not have known Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*. However, our *De modo dicendi* reflects a practical application of the rhetorical theory of abbreviation insofar as it 'comments' on its base texts by means of an abbreviation technique reflecting Vinsauf's discussion of *brevitas* in his *Poetria*. It is most significant that the *De modo dicendi* was compiled in the historical moment immediately before Vinsauf's own composition. The didactic use of *brevitas*, or abbreviation, within this text reflects an audience prepared for Vinsauf's splendid expression of rhetorical theory, a compositional method to be used in a variety of genres by skilled rhetorical practitioners. Among the ranks of these rhetorical practitioners that made an audience prepared for Vinsauf's masterpiece would have been the *boni lectores* and *boni oratores*, one of whom was the disciple of Hugh of St Victor who compiled our *De modo dicendi* for his own students in an attempt to train another generation of *boni lectores* for oratorical service and the perpetuation of the *habitus* of *pietas*. This *habitus* is effectively described by Stephen Jaeger:

---

[3] *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor (A Medieval Guide to the Arts)*, ed. by Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 3.

> The physical presence of an educated man possessed a high pedagogic value; his composure and bearing, his conduct of life, themselves constituted a form of discourse, intelligible and learnable. And this form of pedagogy defined one of the central tasks of cathedral schools: the formation of character according to the model of the master or bishop or whoever was charged with the authority to teach by example. A fundamental element of the life of the schools in the period was a kind of cult of personality. The personal authority of the teacher becomes the dominant criterion of pedagogy. This brings us a long way towards understanding the nature and goal of cathedral school education and the role of *magister scholarum*, a position of much greater stature than its modern counterpart, school master.[4]

The pursuit of this *habitus* of perpetual prayer and meditation — an ethical mode of being engendered by a habituated practice of scripted prayers — was not limited in time or place to St Victor; this *habitus* weaves together homogeneous monastic and scholastic centres of the twelfth century and the heterogeneous lay practice of *devotio moderna* in the fourteenth century. Practitioners of *devotio moderna* centred their lives on the habitual practice of daily devotional prayer that was, formally, quite similar to the theory of prayer described in this *De modo dicendi*.[5]

---

[4] Quoted by John O. Ward, 'Rhetoric, the School of Chartres and the Decline of the Humanities in the European Renaissance of the Twelfth Century', Centre for Medieval Studies Talk, Sydney University, 3 March 2000.

[5] See, for example, Oxford, Queens College, MS 348, fol. 13^{v}, which contains the opening passage of our *De modo*.

As a cultural artefact, the *De modo dicendi* illustrates classical rhetoric's significant role in enabling this *habitus* of 'virtuous' devotion in the high Middle Ages: the pedagogy of prayer and literacy development is clearly founded upon the principles of rhetorical composition developed in antiquity. Hugh uses the word *habitus* to define the division of the contents of philosophy: 'virtus est habitus animi in modum naturae rationi consentaneus' (Virtue is a habit of the mind — a habit adapted to the reason like a nature).[6] I will develop my understanding of this complex term in more detail below. In short, I understand *habitus* as a habituated form of living that embeds an individual's mode of being within a particular, prescribed, ideology. It is quite evident that the Victorines, Hugh in particular, borrowed freely from the rhetorical pedagogy of Augustine and, perhaps more significantly, from Cicero as well. The *De modo*'s concept of *bonus lector* effectively translates the classical *habitus* embodied by the *vir bonus dicendi peritus* into the social and cultural milieu of the medieval monastery. Therefore, in an attempt to explain how the *De modo* affects this translation, I will provide a working definition of *bonus lector* as outlined in our *De modo dicendi*. Then I will expand on this definition by discussing some characteristics this *habitus* shares with the classical ideal of the *orator* as *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, focusing specifically on the pedagogic community of *oratores* at St Victor at the end of the twelfth century.

II

In Quintilian and in Pliny's epistles, the *lector* was a slave who read aloud to his master; in terms of this present treatise, the *lector* can be understood as one who prayed (i.e. read aloud to his master) using conventional technologies of prayer. Mary Carruthers helps clarify the nature of these technologies when she translates *lectio* as 'grammatical commentary' in *The Craft of Thought*.[7] Our compiler closes the first section of this *De modo dicendi* by selectively quoting Hugh of St Victor's definition of *bonus lector*: 'The good reader must be humble and gentle'.[8] From the complete definition found in the text we can glean the following four characteristics of the *bonus lector* emphasized by the compiler of this *De modo*: the *bonus lector* possesses humility; he possesses a love of learning and wisdom; he is gentle (open-hearted); and he guides his life based on the principle of simplicity.[9]

---

[6] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 225 n. 2 and p. 152, respectively.

[7] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 321, n. 80. See also the discussion of Hugh of St Victor's 'epochal' pedagogy in John O. Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Commentaries and Contexts', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 3–76 (p. 41).

In addition to what our treatise says explicitly about the *bonus lector*, we might also learn something about the audience of this *De modo* from what our compiler omits from Hugh's base text. In the *Didascalicon*, this definition continues:

> And if some things […] have not allowed him to understand them, let him not at once break out in angry condemnation and think nothing is good but what he himself can understand.[10]

This passage is not part of the *De modo dicendi*. The exclusion of this principle indicates our compiler felt his intended readers, the students who would be using *De modo dicendi* to hone their prayer composition skills, were advanced enough to have already learned this lesson about tolerating the infinite mysteries of the Church. In other words, the intended audience of *De modo dicendi* was quite probably at the very end of childhood (fourteen-year-olds), about ready to begin their life work as *oratores* devoted to prayer and meditation.

III

The stated goal of *De modo dicendi* is to implement the *habitus* of *bonus lector* in its student-readers. The pedagogy informing this treatise uses the five canons of Graeco-Roman rhetoric to train the minds of its students and prepare them for a life of *orator*, that is to say, a life of habituated performance of prayer (*oratio*). The ultimate goal of this training was practical and social. As Mary Carruthers explains, the mnemonic art of prayer was not simply a repetitive art of thoughtless reiteration; rather prayer was 'an art of invention, an art that made it possible for a person to act competently within the "arena" of debate'. Someone who mastered the art of *orationes* was able 'to respond to interruptions and questions, or to dilate upon the ideas that momentarily occurred to him, without becoming hopelessly distracted, or losing his place in the scheme of his basic speech'.[11] This discursive power gained a significant amount of material support and number of recruits for monastic movements in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, as Giles Constable observes in *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. The *habitus* of prayer and devotion was a marketable mode of being in the mid-twelfth century, producing 'a service for which there was a demand, which, like other producers, they did their best to stimulate'.[12] During this same time period, the abbey at St Victor was in the process of becoming an extremely important institution and library for the royal family's *memoria*.[13] The training of *boni lectores*, which instilled a prescribed habit of virtue within a particular amalgam of interwoven twelfth-century discourses, was integral to this institutional success. The students for whom this text was compiled were advanced in their abilities to read authoritative discourses, sayings, and proverbs; these students were prepared to comment on the authorities; they were able to recite them. They were ready to learn the advanced skills of *meditatio* and *contemplatio* so that they might become *bonus* in their role as *orator*. Only with these compositional skills in hand, tempered by the rhetorical ethos of *humilitas*, might a *bonus lector* have the capacity to engage in *meditatio*, defined as 'frequent deliberation with discernment, which prudently investigates the cause and origin, "method" and use of each and every thing'.[14] The *habitus* of the *bonus lector* is a creative state of mind, prepared for the process of rhetorical invention.

---

[8] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.43 (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 97). The *Didascalicon* appears in *Patrologia cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), CLXXVI (1854), cols 741A–858D; the arabic numbers in the citations refer to sentence numbers in the *PL*. Note that the lowercase roman numeral xiv refers to the *PL* edition rather than Taylor's, which is 'xiii', since he combines the two sections. Finally, the extended definition includes the adverb 'ardenter', emphasizing the *pathos* involved in being a *bonus lector*.

[9] The masculine pronoun here is based on the 'fili' in *De modo dicendi*, 1.vi (*PL*, CLXXVI, col. 877A). The students at St Victor seem to have been all boys, though there were places where girls were also engaged in *progymnasmata*, such as the convent at Helfta, about which, see M. J. Finnegan, *The Women of Helfta: Scholars and Mystics* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

[10] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.43 (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 97).

---

[11] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 8.

[12] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 23.

[13] For what remains as the best study of the Victorines, see Beryl Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964). See also Taylor's 'Introduction' and 'Notes' in Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor.

[14] *De modo dicendi*, 5.i (*PL*, CLXXVI, col. 878A): 'frequens cogitatio cum consilio, quae causam et originem, modum et utilitatem uniuscujusque rei prudenter investigat'.

This capacity to 'investigate the cause, origin, "method" and use' uses the same cognitive skills (*machinae memoriae*) manifest in twelfth-century commentaries' *accessus ad auctores*, which served as a critical introduction to a selected work at hand.[15] Rita Copeland's *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* links these interpretive skills to the practice of academic commentary and discusses the various types of *accessus* in use during the twelfth century.[16] For example, the *De modo*'s grouping of topics resembles the type of *accessus* made popular during the Carolingian period and associated with Remigius of Auxerre. Remigius and his disciples used the following circumstantial topics: *persona*, *res*, *causa*, *tempus*, *locus*, *modus*, *facultas*.[17] This topical system, based ultimately on rhetorical *circumstantiae*, enabled 'the exegete to "invent" arguments about the text [...] which [were] appropriate to new conditions of interpretation and reception'.[18] The four topics of investigation suggested by this section of *De modo dicendi* indicate this method's indebtedness to rhetorical hermeneutics even as they reflect a similar compositional purpose. *Meditatio* is, therefore, a process of sifting through 'each and every thing', analysing it in terms of its reason for being, its origin, its method of use, and its ultimate end. Once an object is 'tagged' with these four indicators, the object then becomes a *datum* to be stored in *memoria*'s databanks until needed for some future moment of prayer composition.[19]

With skills developed through the inventive processes of *meditatio* and *contemplatio*, the *bonus lector* is able to fulfill his third duty: 'so that he might learn freely'.[20] According to Hugh's *Didascalicon*, all of nature was to be 'read' and understood by the power of mind and reason.[21] *Meditatio* and *contemplatio* enabled a sublimation of meaning of any given object to a spiritual, moral, or eternal level. As such, the method of prayer and meditation set forth in our *De modo* realizes what John O. Ward has identified as St Augustine's 'revolution'.[22] This revolution enabled those who had access to adequate training to fulfill the commandment given by Paul in his first epistle to the fledgling Christian community at Thessalonica: pray without ceasing.[23]

---

[15] See A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984); R. W. Hunt, 'The Introduction to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century', in *Studia Mediaevalia in Honorem R. J. Martin, O.P.* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948), pp. 85–112.

[16] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 66–74; Notes, pp. 242–43 (for more bibliography).

[17] Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, p. 66. Discussion of *utilitas* was common in what R. W. Hunt calls the 'Type C' *accessus*, which was more popular than the older, 'circumstantial' *accessus* associated with Remigius.

[18] Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, pp. 70–71.

[19] See Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 10–16.

[20] *De modo dicendi*, 1.xiii (*PL*, CLXXVI, col. 877B): 'sedulus ut ab omnibus libenter discat'.

[21] *Didascalicon*, VI.v: 'By contemplating what God has made we realize what we ourselves

Among other things, the Augustinian rhetorical revolution included a lived hermeneutics in which one embodied an ethical poetic based on pre-established rules of rhetorical decorum. This hermeneutic mode of being enabled

> the transformation of scholarly reading (*scientia* as an objective thing to which individuals contribute) into devotional reading (in which the text is absorbed into the self and contributes towards behaviour and morality of self).[24]

This capacity to discover meaning is rewarded within the practice of prayer itself, and our *De modo* is designed specifically to develop its reader's capacity to learn through the practice of prayer and meditation. Our compiler clearly understands *meditatio* as an advanced form of learning when he defines it in the fifth section of his *De modo*: 'The beginning of learning is in reading, its consummation in meditation'.[25] Knowledge is consummated in meditation: the true beauty of multiple, allegorical meanings for any given object of thought discovered through disciplined reflections composed in *meditatio*. It is clear from the compiler's definition that he understood *meditatio* as a process of

---

ought to do. Every nature tells of God; every nature teaches man; every nature reproduces its essential form, and nothing in the universe is unfecund' (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 145). Also, I.iii reads 'This power belongs to humankind alone. It not only takes in sense impressions and images which are perfect and well founded, but, by a complete act of understanding, it explains and confirms what imagination has only suggested. And, as has been said, this divine nature is not content with the knowledge of those things alone which it perceives spread before its senses, but, in addition, it is able to provide even for things removed from it names which imagination has conceived from the sensible world, and it makes known, by arrangements of words, what it has grasped by reason of its understanding' (ibid., pp. 49–50). See also ibid., p. 183, n. 38; Taylor's 'Introduction' provides a broader discussion of Hugh's pedagogy as recorded in the *Didascalicon*.

[22] John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 83–84, 310.

[23] I Thessalonians 5. 17.

[24] Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione*', p. 11.

[25] *De modo dicendi*, 5.iv (*PL*, CLXXVI, col. 878A): 'Principium ergo doctrinae est in lectione, consummatio in meditatione'.

investigation, that is, *meditatio* as a systematic learning practice. In other words, only individuals who had successfully completed and mastered the fundamentals of rhetorical *inventio* and *memoria* conveyed through the system of *progymnasmata* might have been in a position to translate these skills into a hermeneutical process that bridged from the reading of the text to the composition of one's speech acts — and through them one's body, mind, and spirit — within a community greater than one's self.

One third of the *De modo* section dedicated to the definition of *meditatio* outlines the benefits an individual trained in meditation might expect from his skills:

> [Meditation] quickly returns a happy life, and provides great consolation in tribulation. For it is truly a great thing that separates the mind from the din of earthly acts, and even in this life enables [the mind] to sample the sweetness of eternal quietude.[26]

The discursive knowledge enabled by the devotional prayer practice of *meditatio* and *contemplatio* resulted in a 'pre-taste' of divine 'sweetness' (*dulcedine*). Mary Carruthers gives a closer look at the importance of 'sweetness' in what she describes as 'a provisional charting of an aesthetic term so familiar from medieval writing of all sorts, in Latin and all vernaculars, that most scholars have tended to overlook it as self-evident'.[27] Among several contexts, Carruthers discusses sweetness's 'link to persuasion, to rhetoric, which refocuses the concept from the individual onto the social, for rhetoric is as essentially social as sensory affect is individual'.[28] She goes on to explain: 'The quality of sweetness, which is at the linguistic root of persuasion, functions rhetorically to persuade another person to an action'.[29] In the story of Theodulph of Orléans, the action was physical: the King released the prisoner who composed the hymn, which is itself a product of and medium for *contemplatio*. In the *De modo*, however (and, indeed for Hugh of St Victor), the somatic experience (*in hac vita*) of 'sweetness' itself was the goal of *meditatio* and *contemplatio* compositions.

Our *De modo* was created within a monastic culture at St Victor that focused specifically on the perpetual 'remembering' of this eternal sweetness through meditative contemplation, a controlled mnemotechnic tool Carruthers likens to a 'chisel or a pen' in *The Craft of Thought*.[30] The Victorines used *progymnasmata* to develop within their students a form of living, productive, and collective memory conceived 'as the matrix of a reminiscing cogitation, shuffling and collating "things" stored in a random-access memory scheme, or set of schemes — a memory architecture [...] with the express intention that it be used inventively'.[31] The perpetual prayer produced by the Augustinian canons of St Victor in the later twelfth century involves a codification of the monastic pedagogy which had previously been a product of craft, that is to say, 'learned by a method of apprenticeship based upon imitating examples, [...] long discipline and continual practice'.[32] The 'heterogeneous audience' of St Victor required teachers such as Hugh, Adam, and their disciples to produce manuals that would decrease the amount of time needed to master the art of memory that was so vital to the world of the *oratores*.[33] But the compositional theory influencing this *De modo* is typically 'French' in terms that Martin Camargo uses to describe the twelfth-century *dictatores*: 'steeped in literary tradition founded on the study of classical authors and the composition of Latin verse'.[34] While French *dictatores* of this period were adapting Ciceronian compositional techniques into *artes dictandi*, their contemporaries at St Victor were adapting the same techniques into *artes orandi* and *meditandi*. The goal of the latter *artes* was to produce *bonus lectores* among the ranks of the *oratores*.

---

[26] *De modo dicendi*, 5.iv–v (*PL*, CLXXVI, col. 878A–B): 'jucundam valde reddit vitam, et maximam in tribulatione praestat consolationem. Ea enim maxime est quae animam a terrenorum actuum strepitu segregat, et in hac vita etiam aeternae quietis dulcedine, quodammodo praegustare facit'.

[27] Mary Carruthers, 'Sweetness', *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 999–1013 (p. 999).

[28] Carruthers, 'Sweetness', p. 1007.

[29] Carruthers, 'Sweetness', p. 1008.

Bourdieu is helpful here to gain a perspective as to how the *habitus* of the *bonus lector* might produce the somatic experience of 'sweetness' in an individual self and in other selves of the same community. Bourdieu explains an important characteristic of an ideological universe created by *progymnasmata*:

> Mimetic representation helps to produce in the agents temporary reactions [...] or even *lasting dispositions* [...] attuned to the objective processes expected from the ritual action — helps, in other words, to make the world conform to the myth.[35]

---

[30] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 4.

[31] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 4.

[32] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 2.

[33] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 5. For more on this order, see Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 279–88.

[34] Camargo, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition*, p. 2.

[35] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 167.

The stated goal of *meditatio* and *contemplatio*, two advanced forms of 'mimetic representation', was to produce this state of 'sweetness' in this world. We can understand the mimetic nature of the compositional methods as follows. The more advanced the *lector* becomes at prayer and meditation, the longer he might hover within this disposition of eternal quietude, or 'sweetness'. Those who excelled at such compositions had the further ability to invoke this disposition in others through their devotional *orationes*. According to this pedagogy, the *bonus lector* should not only find meaning in the world, he should also be able to discover beauty in the form of this meaning as well and convey that beauty to others through his prayers. The *bonus lector* had learned the ability to reproduce emotional experiences of sweetness in his devotional *meditationes* and *contemplationes*. The more *pathos* his reproductions of emotional experiences carried, the more effectively they shaped the world in which the *bonus lector* and members of his community lived to the ideologies that gave their world order. This ability to affect one's way of being in the world was an extraordinarily powerful tool, a cognitive technology very closely related to the development of modern subjectivity as a historical phenomenon.

The twelfth-century *orator* was itself a manifestation of the same system of education that produced the *orator* of Cicero, Cato, and Quintilian. Although Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* was not widely read in its entirety during the twelfth century, the concept of *orator* described in his work survived the translation from Roman antiquity to the Latin Middle Ages. To support this claim, one must turn no further than to James J. Murphy's observations that the Roman system of *progymnasmata* successfully trained many in basic literary skills and a few with excellent literary skills: 'the dividing line between these […] levels of accomplishment was based simply on the length of time the student could spend in the program'.[36] Such a statement reinforces our earlier claim that the intended audience of our *De modo* was more advanced in their training, with more time spent 'in the program' described by Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon* and the *De institutione novitiorum*. They are already literate; they are *lectores* — readers — preparing themselves for the excellence and sweetness of *meditationes* and *contemplationes*.

We should also consider by way of closing Murphy's claim 'that what Quintilian describes is consistent with other evidence about Roman education from the time of Cicero up to the fall of Rome to the barbarians in the fifth Christian century. It is also generally consistent with the evidence we have about the early middle ages, up to the late twelfth century at least'.[37] The compiler of our *De modo dicendi* was nothing less than a twelfth-century participant in the millennial era of the Roman pedagogical tradition of *progymnasmata*, adapted to fit an ideology and culture of prayer and prayer production. Literacy was the product of the Roman educational system, and literacy was needed for the methods of prayer composition known as *meditatio* and *contemplatio*. Literacy is what wove both the Roman Empire and the Roman Church together. As Murphy explains, the Roman 'systems' of rhetoric were 'a tool of public policy equal in geopolitical value to the legions and the tax collectors in making the world Roman'.[38] The discursive systems conveyed in the Victorine *De modo dicendi* developed and activated the *vir bonus* in a heterogeneous monastic setting worlds apart from the Roman Republic, and a world moving apart from the smaller, homogeneous monastic cultures of the ninth and tenth centuries. As such, these discursive systems formed an extremely powerful and perennial technology of identity production. The five canons of rhetoric encode, transmit, and help reproduce the conceptual uniformity of the *orator* from antiquity into the twelfth-century environment at St Victor. Those who could, by disciplined study and practice, embody the *habitus* of *orator* were thereby able to manufacture meaningful and powerful statements within the governing institutions of each period.

---

[36] James J. Murphy, 'Roman Writing Instruction as Described by Quintilian', in *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Twentieth-Century America*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 1990), pp. 19–76 (p. 40). This essay provides a synopsis of Quintilian's pedagogical system.

---

[37] Murphy, 'Roman Writing Instruction', p. 39.

[38] Murphy, 'Roman Writing Instruction', p. 38.

De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus[39]

1. *Humility is necessary of one wishing to learn.*[40] — Humility is the origin of learning, about which, though there are many written lessons, these three per-

---

[39] Based on Jacques-Paul Migne's edition in *PL*, CLXXVI, cols 875–80. Migne's text copies Dom Edmond Martene's eighteenth-century edition, *Thesauri anecdotorum* (Bibliopola Parisien, 1717), V, col. 883. Both Martene and Migne draw from 'ms. S. Audoeni Rothomagensis'. To date, I have not been able to identify this manuscript. Portions of *De modo dicendi et meditandi* are found on fol. 13^{v} of Oxford, Queens College, MS 348 (parts of Sections 1 and 2). I would like to thank Amanda Saville, Librarian, The Queen's College, Oxford University, for her help in obtaining a digital copy of this folium.

[40] This heading and all italicized headings that follow appear to be a summary of each section's material. These headings are external devices and were probably added by a subsequent reader/transcriber of this treatise. See, for example, the extract from *De modo dicendi et meditandi* found in Oxford, Queens Coll., MS 348 (fol. 13^{v}a): 'Quidsit nece^{s}ariu^{m} studio' is set off in red from the surrounding brown ink of the text's main material. This 'section title' is actually a comment, an adaptation via summary, on the *De modo docendi* as represented by the manuscript used for Martene's and Migne's editions. Whereas their texts (and, presumably MS S. Audoeni Rothomagensis) use 'Tria sunt studentibus' as this section's incipit (the first three words of the main text), Oxford, Queens Coll., MS 348 exchanges the 'tria sunt' formula with the equally standard 'quidsit necessarium' form. I argue that the 'tria sunt' form is written for teachers and students participating in the *Didascalicon*'s pedagogy. The *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus* would fall into this category, since, as I assert, it was written by a disciple of Hugh of St Victor who was using his master's words and *modo orandi et meditandi* to train a second generation of *boni lectores*. However, I would argue the more objective 'quidsit necessarium' form was used in the case of Oxford, Queens Coll., MS 348 because the intended audience of this particular manuscript was a practicing *orator*. The impersonal firmness of the subjunctive mood stands out to me as that of a manual, not a schoolbook. The use of 'studentibus' might have alienated the intended audience for Oxford, Queens Coll., MS 348, but we will probably never be certain. For background on the importance of humility and its function in rhetorical composition, see Julius Schwietering, 'The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 69.5 (1954), 1279–91; Robert Englert, 'Monastic Humility: A Study of Humility in Bernard of Clairvaux and the Author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*', *Studia Mystica*, 19 (1998), 36–44; Derek Brewer, 'Troilus's "Gentil" Manhood', in *Masculinities in Chaucer: Approaches to Maleness in the 'Canterbury Tales' and 'Troilus and Criseyde'*, ed. by Peter G. Beidler, Chaucer Studies, 25 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1998), pp. 237–52. For recent scholarship on the practice of medieval prayer, see Rachel Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice', *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 700–33; Przemysław Mrozowski, 'Genuflection in Medieval Western Culture: The Gesture of Expiation — The Praying Posture', *Acta Poloniae historica*, 68 (1993), 5–26; *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. by Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Richard C. Trexler, *The Christian at Prayer: An Illustrated Prayer Manual Attributed to Peter the Chanter (D. 1197)* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), pp. 43–49 (cited in Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm at Admont', p. 721 n. 88).

tain especially to the reader.[41] First, that he might hold no wisdom, no scripture to be vile.[42] Second, that he be ashamed to learn from no one.[43] Third, that, although he might have obtained wisdom, he does not spurn others.[44] This has deceived many because they wish to seem wise before their time, and on that account they will be ashamed to learn from others what they do not know.[45] Indeed, son, learn freely from everyone what you do not know.[46] You shall be wiser than everyone, if you want to learn from everyone.[47] Those who receive from everyone are richer than all.[48] In short, you should hold no wisdom as vile, since all wisdom is good.[49] If there's time, you should hold contempt for no scripture or healthy law.[50] If you gain nothing, you will not waste something.[51] For the Apostle said: 'Gathering all things, retaining those which are good' (1 Thessalonians 5. 21).[52] The good reader must be humble and gentle, in short alien from secular cares and enticements of sensual pleasures, and diligent so that he might learn freely from all things.[53] Let him presume nothing of his own wisdom, and let him seek not to seem learned, but to be so; let him seek sayings of the wise, and always strive ardently[54] to hold of his countenance publicly as a mirror of his mind's eye.[55]

---

[41] Cf. source: Hugh of St Victor's *Didascalicon*, Book III, Chapter xiv, Sentence 1 (hence '*Didascalicon*, III.xiv.1'). Our author identifies the one wishing to learn as 'lector', or 'reader'. Learning, here, is conceived upon the written word. John Ward defines classical rhetoric as 'a ratiocinative construct of a comprehensive perceptive and didactic tradition, which takes the form of a *disciplina* and is passed on by writing' (*The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, p. xvi).

[42] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.1.

[43] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.1.

[44] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.1. 'Fuerit' is in the third person, singular, perfect, subjunctive, not future perfect, indicative.

[45] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.2 and 3. With the second part of this sentence, our compiler modifies Hugh's base-text. The *Didascalicon* reads: 'multos hoc decipit, quod ante tempus, sapientes videri volunt. hinc namque in quendam elationis tumorem prorumpunt, [*PL*, CLXXVI, 773D] ut iam et simulare incipiant quod non sunt et quod sunt erubescere, eoque longius a sapientia recedunt quo non esse sapientes, sed putari putant'. The *De modo dicendi* reads: 'Multos hoc decepit quod ante tempus sapientes videri volunt, et ideo ab aliis quod nesciunt discere erubescunt'. This entire section functions like a commentary or gloss on *Didascalicon* III.xiv by means of 'abbreviation'. Abbreviation was a central skill of rhetoric as expressed by Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* and John of Garland's *Poetria*, written, respectively, nearly seventy and ninety years after Hugh's death. *Abbreviatio* contributed to the style of *brevitas*, which was even more highly valued in the Middle Ages than it had been in antiquity. For more on *brevitas* and *abbreviatio*, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 490–94. I believe the compiler of *De modo dicendi et meditandi* was a first-generation student of Hugh of St Victor.

[46] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.27 (partially). 'Tu vero, fili' is not in *Didascalicon*. This is a clear point in the text where our compiler emerges as an educator applying Hugh's pedagogy to his own student. Our compiler also omits a second clause in this sentence as it reads in Hugh's *Didascalicon*.

[47] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.28.

[48] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.29.

[49] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.30.

[50] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.31. *Didascalicon* reads 'scriptum vel saltem legere contemnas' (you

2. *Three things are necessary of learning*.[56] — Three things are necessary for students: natural ability, exercise, and discipline.[57] Natural ability is exercised so that he might readily perceive things heard, and retain these perceptions firmly.[58] Exercise, so that he might cultivate his natural sense by hard work and assiduous application.[59] Discipline, so that living laudably he might compose his behaviour with wisdom.[60]

---

should not hold contempt at least to read any text). This possible scribal error seems correctable only through further manuscript analysis.

[51] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.32.

[52] This quoted passage is not in Hugh's *Didascalicon*. Quoting scripture seems to be our compiler's 'gloss'. His gloss sutures together two sentences separated in the *Didascalicon* by ten sentences here omitted; it also roots the preceding pedagogical rules in scriptural *auctoritas*.

[53] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.43.

[54] Our compiler supplies the adverb *ardenter*, as well as slightly modifying and omitting a clause from the *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.43.

[55] *Didascalicon*, III.xiv.43.

[56] Though passages echo *Didascalicon* quite closely, these headers differ significantly. These 'external' devices probably reflect an even closer brush with either our compiler as an individual or a subsequent scribe who used the text for his own didactic purpose.

[57] *Didascalicon*, III.vi.1. Classical authors who contributed to the traditional discussion of these pedagogical components are Cicero, *De oratore* I.iv.14 and XI.xxv; Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* III.v.1; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XI.xxv. Hugh's definitions, however, are unique to him (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 213, n. 49).

[58] *Didascalicon*, III.vi.2.

[59] *Didascalicon*, III.vi.2. Cf. the discussion of *habitus* in the 'Introduction' to *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus*.

[60] *Didascalicon*, III.vi.3. In the Middle Ages, one of the roles of what we now call the humanities was invention: invention of knowledge, of ethics, of self. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) outlines how memory, one of the fundamental canons of rhetoric, was used to 'invent' the self's knowledge. In *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middles Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Judson Boyce Allen notes that in the

3. *He shall be potent in natural ability and memory*. — Whoever gives himself to the work of learning must be potent in natural ability as well as in memory.[61] Two [qualities] that harmonize in him in every pursuit, so that if one failed, it could not lead the other one to perfection,[62] just as 'no riches can be useful where custodianship is absent', and 'he guards receptacles in vain, who did not have what he stowed away'.[63]

4. *Aptitude is a certain natural, self-sustaining power situated in the spirit.*[64] — Memory is a firm perception in the spirit or mind of things, of words, and of meanings and feelings.[65] Aptitude discovers, memory preserves.[66] Aptitude originates from nature, is helped by use, dulled by immoderate labour, and honed by temperate exercise.[67] Memory is greatly helped and thrives through the exercise of recollecting and meditating assiduously.[68] There are two things that exercise aptitude: reading and meditation.[69] 'Reading' is when we are

---

medieval conception of poetry, there is no real category for literature; rather poetry and literature are categorized under the rubric 'ethics'. He explains that 'to define ethics in medieval terms is to define poetry, and to define poetry is to define ethics, because medieval ethics was so much under the influence of a literary paideia as to be enacted poetry and poetry was so practically received as to be quite directly the extended examples for real behaviour' (p. 12). In other words, literature is an action, literacy a practice of ethical reality. Betsy McCormick reminded me of Allen's quotation in 'The Love Below, or, The Logic of a Humanist Practice', paper presented as part of the 'Panel: Premodern to Modern Humanisms', Southeastern Medieval Association Annual Convention, University of Mississippi, Oxford, 11–14 October 2006.

[61] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.1.

[62] Literally, 'it could lead no other one' ('neminem alterum ad perfectionem ducere possit').

[63] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.1. *Didascalicon* reads, 'non habuerit', while our edition of *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus* reads 'non habuit'.

[64] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.3; John of Salisbury uses this same quote in his *Metalogicon*, Book I.xi, attributing it to Isodorus (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 213, n. 50).

[65] This sentence is not in the *Didascalicon*. It seems to be an adaptation from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.1.3: 'memoria est firma animi rerum et verborum et dispositionis perceptio'. On emotional tagging and memory, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 14–16, 39, 45, 59, 97, and 358, n. 109; also on *enargeia*, 'bringing before the eyes', see pp. 118, 130–35, 139, 168, 172, and 328, n. 2.

[66] *Didascalicon*, III.xi.1 reads: 'De memoria hoc maxime in praesenti praetermittendum non esse existimo, quod sicut **ingenium** dividendo investigat et **invenit**, ita **memoria** colligendo **custodit**'. Compare to our text's abbreviation: 'Ingenium invenit, memoria custodit'.

[67] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.4.

[68] No source found for this sentence.

[69] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.6; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, identifies mediation as 'the

informed with rules and precepts from those things that have been written down.[70] Indeed, 'reading' is [...] through the subject [...] investigation of sense.[71] [There are] three sorts [of lectio]: of reading, of teaching, of learning, or self-examination.[72] Therefore we say, 'I read a book to him', and 'I read a book by him', and 'I read a book'.[73]

5. *On meditation*. — Meditation is frequent deliberation with discernment, which prudently investigates the cause and origin, 'method' and use of each and every thing.[74] Meditation takes its beginning from reading, yet it is not arranged by the rules or precepts of reading.[75] An open space is drawn away in which to dash about, where [meditation] affixes permanently the free gaze to contemplating truth; to tie together now these, now those causes, to penetrate now these depths, to leave behind nothing uncertain, nothing hidden.[76] Therefore, the beginning of learning is in reading, its consummation in meditation; a thing that, if anyone would dedicate himself as a devotee to love, and wish often to give time to it, quickly returns a happy life, and provides great consolation in tribulation.[77] For it is truly a great thing that separates the mind from the din of earthly acts, and even in this life enables [the mind] to sam-

---

highest kind of study' for Hugh of St Victor (p. 147). Ward observes, 'Hugh maintained in the second book of his *Didascalicon* that philosophy [was] amongst other things, a "meditating upon death, a pursuit of especial fitness for Christians [...] the discipline which investigates demonstratively the causes of all things, human and divine"' (Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione*', p. 41, citing Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 62).

[70] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.7.

[71] Migne's *PL* edition indicates a lacuna in the manuscript. This sentence as printed does not seem to correspond to any in *Didascalicon*.

[72] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.8.

[73] *Didascalicon*, III.vii.9.

[74] *Didascalicon*, III.x.1. For a similar definition of *meditatio*, see *De meditando seu meditandi artificio: opusculum aureum* (also attributed to Hugh of St Victor): 'meditatio est frequens cogitatio modum, et causam et rationem uniuscujusque rei investigans' (*PL*, CLXXVI, 993B). We should note, however, the absence of 'use' as a major topic in this definition. Cf. Rita Copeland's discussion of *accessus* cited in note 17 above.

[75] *Didascalicon*, III.x.2. Cf. Copeland's discussion of *interpretatio*, *conversio*, and *translatio*: Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, pp. 88–92.

[76] *Didascalicon*, III.x.3. See especially Carruthers's discussion of *intention* in Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 14–16, 'Having a Place to Put Things' and '*Enargeia*: Painting in the Mind', pp. 130–35.

[77] *Didascalicon*, III.x.4.

ple the sweetness of eternal quietude.[78] And even now through those things which are done, when he who does them has learned to seek and to understand, wisdom quickly teaches [him] and happiness abounds: thence it is that there might be great delight in meditation.[79]

6. *Three genres of meditation*. — There are three genres of meditation.[80] One consists of the circumspection of morals, another in examination of commandments, and a third in the investigation of divine works.[81] Morals are in vices and virtues.[82] Divine command either orders, promises, or threatens.[83] The work of God is that which [Divine] power might create, that which wisdom delimits, and that with which grace might collaborate.[84] The more an individual knows how great the admiration is, which all these things deserve, the more intently he gives himself to meditate on God's wonders.[85]

7. *We are taught those things which must be committed to memory*. — Memory keeps by collecting those things which aptitude investigates and discovers.[86] It is therefore appropriate that we gather things to be committed to memory that we have divided into parts by learning.[87] 'To gather' is to render brief and most

---

[78] *Didascalicon*, III.x.5.

[79] *Didascalicon*, III.x.6. Through the very actions of meditation — i.e. the *habitus* of the *bonus lector* — wisdom teaches and happiness abounds.

[80] *Didascalicon*, III.x.7.

[81] *Didascalicon*, III.x.8. *De meditando seu meditandi artificio* reads: 'unum in creaturis, unum in scripturis, unum in moribus' (*PL*, CLXXVI, 993B).

[82] *Didascalicon*, III.x.9. The term *mores* 'indifferently names both character and behavior following these [conduct manuals'] invariable conviction that external actions manifest internal virtue': Mark D. Johnston, 'Ciceronian Rhetoric and Ethics: Conduct Literature and "Speaking Well"', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 147–64 (p. 151). Johnston also briefly remarks on Hugh of St Victor's discussion of *mores* in the *De institutione novitiorum*, 'a guide for youths entering the regular clergy' (ibid.). For more on this treatise, see Stephen C. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 254–67 (cited by Johnston, p. 151 n. 15).

[83] *Didascalicon*, III.x.10. Taylor explains: 'the reading "permittens" is supported by three manuscripts of Buttimer's gamma class [60]' (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. by Taylor, p. 214 n. 57).

[84] *Didascalicon*, III.x.11. For more on the development of this tradition of grace, see Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[85] *Didascalicon*, III.x.12.

[86] Cf. *Didascalicon*, III.x.1. This sentence paraphrases (in a different manner) Hugh's base-text for the second time.

[87] *Didascalicon*, III.xi.2.

abridged those things about which much has been written or disputed; which is called by [our] ancestors 'epilogue', that is, 'a brief recapitulation of things already spoken'.[88] For human memory rejoices in brevity, and if it is divided in many parts, it will be less in the individual [parts].[89] We must therefore gather something brief and definite in every study and teaching, which we should store away in the treasure-box of memory, from which, when the present situation demands, things might be derived.[90] It is necessary to unfold these things often and to recall them to our palate from our memory's belly, lest they decay by long interruption.[91]

8. *Three visions of rational mind. The difference between contemplation and meditation*. — There are three visions of the rational mind: thought, meditation, and contemplation.[92] Thought is when the mind is touched by the transitory notion of things, when the thing itself is presented suddenly [either] by its own image in the mind, or entering through sense-perception, or rising up from memory.[93] Meditation is an assiduous and acute reconsideration of thought, shining to explicate something obscure or examining thoroughly to penetrate that which is hidden.[94] Contemplation is sharp-sighted and frees intuition of the mind into diffuse matters always to be examined thoroughly.[95] Between meditation and contemplation there seems to be this difference: that meditation is always about those matters hidden from our understanding; however, contemplation [is] about things manifested either according to its [*sic*] nature or according to our capacity.[96] Also, meditation is always taken up with one

---

[88] *Didascalicon*, III.xi.3. For more on 'colligere', see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 33, 64, 193, 330 n. 20, 356 n. 90. Carruthers discusses this passage in particular on pp. 63–64.

[89] *Didascalicon*, III.xi.8.

[90] *Didascalicon*, III.xi.9.

[91] *Didascalicon*, III.xi.10.

[92] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia* I, in *PL*, CLXXV, col. 116D. This turn from the *Didascalicon* to *In Ecclesiasten* is our compiler's attempt to supplement (and thereby comment upon) Hugh's stated connection between *memoria*, thought, invention, and exposition. By describing contemplation and meditation at length, via Hugh's material from *In Ecclesiasten*, our compiler provides a detailed account of the type of thought required to activate *memoria* and *inventio* in *expositio*.

[93] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 116D.

[94] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, cols 116D–117A.

[95] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117A.

[96] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117A. 'Its' ('suam'), though singular, must refer to 'rebus'.

thing to be probed; however, contemplation is split into many or even universal things to be comprehended.[97] And so, meditation is a certain curious and keen power of the mind to investigate obscure things and to disentangle intricacies.[98] Contemplation is that vivacity of the intellect, which, having all things manifested on its bezel, comprehends with vision. Thus, in some way, that which meditation seeks, contemplation possesses.[99]

9. *Two genres of contemplation*. — Moreover, there are two types of contemplation: one that is first and in the consideration of the beginnings of creatures, the other that is last and in the contemplation of the Creator.[100] Just as in Proverbs Solomon proceeded by meditating, in Ecclesiastes he ascended to the first step of contemplation, in the Song of Songs he carried himself to the highest.[101] Therefore, we might distinguish three things from these three names: the first is meditation, the second is speculation, [and] the third is contemplation.[102] In meditation, the disorder of carnal passions rising up inconveniently darkens the mind kindled with pious devotion.[103] In speculation, the newness of unaccustomed vision raises up in admiration.[104] In contemplation, the foretaste of wonderful sweetness changes all into joy and delight.[105] Therefore, in meditation there is solitude, in speculation admiration, and in contemplation sweetness.[106]

10. *Three things in exposition*. — Exposition contains three things: the letter, the sense, [and] the signification.[107] The letter corresponds to the orderly arrangement of utterances, which we call the 'arrangement'. The sense is a certain easy and suitable figuration, which the letter shows first externally. The signification is a more profound understanding, which cannot be discovered but by exposition or interpretation. Among these a [certain] order is required:

---

[97] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117A.

[98] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117A.

[99] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117A–B.

[100] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117B.

[101] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 117B.

[102] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 118B. Our compiler omits Hugh's extended discussion of light (*lucta*), flame (*flamma*), and fire (*ignis*) in the heart (*cordo*).

[103] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 118B.

[104] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 118B.

[105] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 118B.

[106] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 118B–C.

[107] *Didascalicon*, VI.viii.

first the letter, then the sense, after that the signification, by which exposition is perfected.

11. *Three types of emptiness.* — There are three types of emptiness: the first is the emptiness of mutability which is present in all things fallen through their [natural] condition.[108] The second [type] is the emptiness of curiosity or cupidity, which is present in the minds of human beings through an inordinate pleasure in empty and transient things.[109] The third [type] is the emptiness of mortality, which is present in the bodies of humans through [their] penalty [of sin].[110]

12. *The gift of eloquence.* — Someone eloquent said, and said the truth, that an eloquent [person] must speak so that he might teach, delight, and persuade.[111] Indeed,[112] he added: 'To teach is of necessity, to delight of beauty, to persuade of victory'.[113] Of the three, that which is placed in the first position, that is the necessity of teaching is founded in things that we say, the other two in the manner by which we speak.[114] Therefore he who is supported by speaking to persuade [others] to that which is good, rejecting none of them, so that he might teach, delight, and persuade, ought to pray and act so that he might be heard intelligently, freely, and obediently.[115] When he does this aptly and harmoniously, he is able to be rightly called eloquent, even if the hearer's assent does not follow him.[116] To these three things — that is, that he might teach, delight, and persuade — the author of Roman eloquence himself seems to have wanted to reach, when he said the following: 'Therefore he will be eloquent, who is able to speak humbly about small things, temperately about moderate things, and grandly about great things'.[117] Indeed, let him who wants to learn and to teach learn all things that must be taught and put together the faculty of speaking, so that he

---

[108] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 118D.

[109] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, cols 118D–119A.

[110] Hugh, *In Ecclesiasten Homilia*, col. 119A.

[111] Quoted from Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xii. NB, Migne attributes this quote to *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xiv. The 'someone eloquent' is Cicero, from whom Augustine himself is about to quote.

[112] *De doctrina Christiana* reads 'Diende' instead of 'Demum'.

[113] Cicero, *De oratore* 1.69, quoted in Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xii.

[114] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xii.

[115] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xvii.

[116] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xvii.

[117] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xvii. Augustine is quoting Cicero, *De oratore* 1.101.

properly be an ecclesiastical man.[118] Indeed, he who says he wants to teach, as long as he is not understood, might judge that he has not yet said what he wants to him whom he wants to teach.[119] For, although he said what he himself understands, it must not be thought to have been said to him [the student] what is not understood.[120] If indeed he is understood, by whatever method he might have said it, he said [it]:[121] therefore a teacher of divine scriptures and defender of the true faith, and conqueror of error must teach good things, and in this [his] work of speech bring together adversaries, encourage (or set straight) slackers, and to tell the ignorant both what is occurring at present and what is probable in the future.[122] Once he either discovers [his listeners] kind-hearted, attentive, docile, or he himself has made them so, these other things must be done, as the situation requires.[123] If those who listen must be taught, it must be done by narration; however, he might desire that the matter about which it must be done become known.[124] Also, as certain things may arise that are in doubt, [the thing] must be thought through by additional examples.[125]

Alcuin[126]

And Marcus Tullius said: Memory is a treasure chest of all things, which might be used as a guardian for discovered thoughts, words, and deeds. We understand that all things, even if they may have been very clear,[127] are about to fade away. We do not have other rules for this except the exercise of learning, the use of writing, the study of thought and guarding against drunkenness, which hurts all good studies and withdraws the mind's integrity.

---

[118] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xv.

[119] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xii. Migne's edition has 'quandiu', while *De doctrina Christiana* reads 'quamdiu'.

[120] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xii.

[121] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.xii.

[122] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.iv.

[123] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.iv.

[124] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.iv.

[125] Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, IV.iv.

[126] Final quote taken from Alcuin's *Disputatio de Rhetorica* §39, which quotes Cicero, *De oratore* 1.5.

[127] Migne's version of the *De modo* reads, 'intelligimus omnia, etiamsi *praeclare* fuerint, in oratore peritura'; Alcuin's text reads 'intellegimus omnia, etiamsi *praeclara* fuerint, in oratore peritura'; Cicero's reads, 'omnia, etiam si *praeclarissima* fuerint in oratore, peritura'.

EDUCATING THE SENSES ON LOVE OR LUST: RICHARD DE FOURNIVAL AND PETER OF LIMOGES

Richard Newhauser*

I

Richard de Fournival (1201–59/60) and Peter of Limoges (d. 1306) could have followed largely identical career paths. Both were born outside the centre of cultural life in France, Richard to the north of Paris in Amiens, Peter further to the south in Donzenac in the vicinity of Brives (diocese of Limoges); both were clerics from well-to-do families; both had wide-ranging interests and were clearly intrigued by the newest developments in natural philosophy and science, as well as by the latest trends in the disciplines of the humanities and theology; and both responded to these interests by assembling impressive private libraries during their lives, which then came to form part of the collection of the university in Paris. Richard de Fournival and Peter of Limoges both yield portraits of thirteenth-century French intellectuals that complement each other in many ways. And yet their careers were hardly identical. Among other topics, Richard wrote on natural philosophy (alchemy), but he also published a well-known vernacular work on erotic love; Peter had a reputation as an astronomer, but he also composed and copied sermons, though he is better known as the author of

* I am grateful to Sylvia Huot for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this essay.

Richard Newhauser is Professor of English and Medieval Studies at Arizona State University, Tempe. His research focuses on the moral tradition and sensory history. His publications include *The Early History of Greed* (2000; repr. 2006); *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages* (2007); (co-editor) *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (2012); (translator) Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye* (2012); and (editor) *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages* (2014). He is also co-editor of the book series Vices and Virtues for Yale University Press, trade division.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 213–228 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107456

a Latin treatise on moralized optics that became a bestseller. The reading tastes of these two men underscore the divergence of their interests: The prominence of books dealing with the liberal arts in Richard's collection, documented in his *Biblionomia*, contrasts with what can be reconstructed of Peter's library, where the number of volumes on theology and homiletics stands out. In similar fashion, the major works by these two authors, the *Bestiaire d'amour* by Richard and Peter of Limoges's *Tractatus moralis de oculo*,[1] complement each other in the passages in which they articulate the interplay between the senses and amorous desire. What the *Bestiaire d'amour* formulates as the intoxication of the senses in the pursuit of love is refashioned in the *Tractatus* as a warning to edify the senses against the sin of lust.

Richard's career is notable for combining a number of prominent positions in the Church hierarchy in northern France. He was a canon, deacon, and chancellor of the Chapter of Notre-Dame in Amiens, a canon in Rouen, and a chaplain to Cardinal Robert of Somercotes. But his career also demonstrates the essential influence of the early university on members of the upper clergy. He probably studied in Paris in the Faculty of Arts and then in Medicine. After becoming a cleric, he was permitted to perform surgery in 1246.[2] His written oeuvre includes works in natural philosophy and science: a treatise entitled *De arte alchemica*; a text on urology in French (now lost); and an astrological autobiography (*Nativitas*), an extant copy of which was owned by Peter of Limoges that contains glosses on the text in Peter's hand.[3] But the Arts continued to inspire Richard in other ways as well: besides the *Bestiaire*, he composed the *Consaus d'amours*, an Ovidian work on love, and the *Biblionomia*, a detailed catalogue of 162 texts at least partially representing the books in his large personal library, which he opened to young scholars in Amiens.[4] The *Biblionomia* treats theological subjects summarily, but its entries on the liberal arts document Richard's interest in science, history, philosophy, grammar and rhetoric, and the literature of antiquity.[5] Over forty of these texts have been identified among the discernible remains of manuscripts in Richard's collection, mainly in codices preserved today in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[6]

---

[1] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Gabriel Bianciotto, in Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour et la Response du Bestiaire*, Champion Classiques, Série 'Moyen Âge', 27 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009). All citations from the French text are from this edition; references are to the chapter of the text and the page number on which the citation occurs. I am completing an edition of Peter's work; citations here are from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 16396, fols 3^{r}–46^{v}, copied *c.* 1300 and bequeathed to the Sorbonne by the author (referred to henceforth as MS P8). For a translation, see Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, trans. by Richard Newhauser, Mediaeval Sources in Translation, 51 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012).

[2] Gabriel Bianciotto, 'Introduction' to Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, pp. 15–151 (pp. 15–18).

[3] Alexandre Birkenmajer, 'Pierre de Limoges, commentateur de Richard de Fournival', *Isis*, 40 (1949), 18–31.

Peter of Limoges spent his career as a member of the Sorbonne and may have served as the dean of its Faculty of Medicine in 1267 and 1270. According to the necrologium of that institution, he completed the baccalaureate in theology, was a canon in Évreux, and had a reputation as a well-known astronomer.[7] From other sources it is clear that he also achieved the *magister* in both the arts and theology.[8] Unlike Richard, Peter had no interest in an ecclesiastical career: his disinclination to advance in the ranks of the Church hierarchy is noted in the necrologium, which remarks that he twice refused prebends in Paris and twice declined election to the office of bishop.[9] These decisions seem to have been a matter of principle (enabled, as well, by his family's affluence), and they are mirrored in his *Tractatus*, which frequently and sternly criticizes the contemporary ecclesiastical abuse of multiple benefices. Peter's choices also emphasize the importance he placed on moral improvement. He was an admirer of Roger Bacon's plans for a reformation of all of Christian education,[10] and he showed at least some interest in Ramon Llull's attempts to enlist the Parisian authorities in his plans for a missionary project.[11] Peter's written work is largely at home in the moral tradition as well. His involvement in the sciences, and his familiarity with Richard de Fournival, is demonstrated by the commentary he wrote on Richard's *Nativitas*, but just as typical of Peter's approach is the *Tractatus moralis de oculo*, in which he attempted to achieve a 'hybridization of science and theology'.[12] The bequest of Peter's library of 120 volumes to the Sorbonne is the 'second largest known gift to the medieval library' of the university.[13] Among the remains of his personal collection that have been identified in manuscripts, mainly in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, one finds works on science, grammar and rhetoric, and philosophy, but the largest portion is devoted to the Church Fathers and the scholastic and pastoral theology that defined the intellectual environment in which Peter lived and worked.

---

[4] Bianciotto, 'Introduction', pp. 25–27; Jeanette Beer, 'Clergie? Chevalerie? Renardie? *Le Bestiaire d'amour* and a Woman's Response', in *Grant Risee? The Medieval Comic Presence. La présence comique médiévale: Essays in Honour of Brian J. Levy*, ed. by Adrian Tudor and Alan Hindley, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 337–46 (p. 338).

[5] Richard de Fournival, *La Biblionomia de Richard de Fournival du manuscrit 636 de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne: Texte en facsimilé avec la transcription de Léopold Delisle*, ed. by Herman Jean De Vleeschauwer, Mousaion, 62 (Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, 1965).

[6] Richard H. Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 3 (1973), 253–69.

[7] On Peter's reputation as an astronomer, see Lynn Thorndike, 'Peter of Limoges on the Comet of 1299', *Isis*, 36 (1945), 3–6.

[8] Palémon Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, I: *Robert de Sorbon: L'homme, le collège, les documents*, Études de philosophie médiévale, 53 (Paris: Vrin, 1966), p. 323; Lynn Thorndike, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, Études de philosophie médiévale, 17 (Paris: Vrin, 1933), I, 366, no. 178; Nicole Bériou, 'La prédication au béguinage de Paris pendant l'année liturgique 1272–1273', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 13 (1978), 105–229 (p. 108 and n. 13).

[9] The entry from the necrologium is printed in Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Histoire Générale de Paris, 6.1–3, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874), II, 168.

II

Li bestiaires maistre Richart de Furnival, composed around the middle of the thirteenth century, proved to be as fascinating to medieval readers and authors as it continues to be to scholars of medieval literature. There are twenty-two copies and one fragment of the text still extant, with many imitations and borrowings as well.[14] Directed to the narrator's 'fair, dearest love',[15] the work has been described as taking 'the form of the standard love-letter dedicated to one privileged lady-reader',[16] but it does not evince most of the epistolary formulas of medieval letter writing, especially those of greeting and farewell that Martin Camargo has observed are among the dominant traits of the genre as taught by the composers of *artes dictandi* and, in particular, as practiced in the vernacular.[17] Instead of a conventional *salutatio*, at the beginning of the *Bestiaire* one finds a carefully crafted prologue that justifies Richard's method of composing an image-text. This technique explicitly involves both *painture et parole*[18] by presenting animals in visual illuminations that are typical of the bestiary genre together with literary descriptions of animals that owe much to the lyrical tradition. Together, *painture* and *parole* serve as the two paths leading to memory.[19] Memory is the faculty that guards the treasure of what has been gained through the perfection of one's ingenuity. It is God's gift in support of the observation that all human beings by nature desire to know, which Richard echoes from the opening of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* at the beginning of his text.

---

[10] Richard Newhauser, '"Inter scientiam et populum": Roger Bacon, Peter of Limoges, and the "Tractatus moralis de oculo"', in *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277: Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität von Paris im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts. Studien und Texte / After the Condemnation of 1277: Philosophy and Theology at the University of Paris in the Last Quarter of the Thirteenth Century. Studies and Texts*, ed. by Jan A. Aertsen, Kent Emery Jr, and Andreas Speer, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 28 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), pp. 682–703.

[11] Albert Soler, 'Ramon Llull and Peter of Limoges', *Traditio*, 48 (1993), 93–105.

[12] Herbert L. Kessler, '*Speculum*', *Speculum*, 86 (2011), 1–41; Gudrun Schleusener-Eichholz, 'Naturwissenschaft und Allegorese: Der "Tractatus de oculo morali" des Petrus von Limoges', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 12 (1978), 258–309.

[13] Richard H. Rouse, 'The Early Library of the Sorbonne', *Scriptorium*, 21 (1967), 42–71, 227–51; repr. in Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Publications in Medieval Studies, 17 [27] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), pp. 341–408 (p. 376).

[14] Bianciotto, 'Introduction', p. 95.

But memory must also serve a rhetorical function in a work that draws closely on the bestiary tradition by evoking a series of animals in its text and in accompanying illuminations and by drawing out the properties of these animals and their implications.[20] Part of the intent of the work is to employ these properties to convince the narrator's dearest love to relent in her rejection of him. The text amounts to a *catena* of the properties of animals that are adduced to express the depth of the narrator's emotions, his despair at being captured by a love that is not reciprocated, his conviction that the only remedy for the death this love amounts to is the possession of his lady's heart, the anxiety that she may turn to another man who would treat her dismissively, and the narrator's repeated assertion of the sincerity of his love. In each step along the way, animal lore provides positive or negative models for human behaviour that are often explained in exegetical fashion. For example, some women are said to listen to words of endearment, and when they feel they must grant their love to a man, they change the subject of conversation to another topic, fearful of being captured. In this, they are said to be like the weasel that conceives its offspring through its ear (allegorically, that is to say, these women develop love for a man by listening to him) and after giving birth the weasel moves its young from place to place (that is, such women take pains to avoid being bound to one man in love).[21] In contrast, the narrator says it would have been better if his lady had acted as the crow, which ignores its young until they have grown black feathers (allegorically, she should have cared for him after recognizing that he was clothed in love for her).[22] It is clear that specific properties of animals are foregrounded from an array of possibilities because of the requirements of the changing context in the description of love. For example, the narrator notes at one point that his beloved treated him like the viper, which flees from a naked man (i.e. one without manifestations of love), but attacks a clothed man (that is to say, one who makes clear his feelings of love).[23] But later the notion that a viper kills its parents even before it is born (the mother kills the father when mating and then dies giving birth through her side) is likened to the type of men who will break the rules of decorum and reveal to everyone for which woman they are performing love service.[24] The rhetorical strategy of the exem-

---

[15] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 1, p. 156: 'bele tres douche amee'.

[16] Helen Solterer, 'Letter-Writing and Picture-Reading: The *Bestiaire d'amour* and Medieval Textuality', *Word and Image*, 5.1 (1989), 131–47 (p. 131).

[17] Martin Camargo, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle*, Studien zur Englischen Philologie, n.s. 28 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), p. 9. On the parts of a letter taught in the *artes dictandi*, see Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 22–23; Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

[18] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 1, p. 154.

[19] On Richard's 'audiovisual poetics', see Silvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 138–41.

[20] On memory in Richard's work, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 276–77; Christopher Lucken, 'Entre amour et savoir: Conflits de mémoire chez Richard de Fournival', in *La mémoire du temps au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus' Library, 12 (Firenze: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), pp. 141–62. Further

---

reflections on the rhetorical function of memory can be found in part 4 of the *De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus*, examined in this volume by Tim Spence.

[21] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 12, pp. 178–80. For the weasel in the French bestiary tradition, see Florence McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 33 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 186–88.

[22] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 10, pp. 172–74. For the crow in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, p. 108.

[23] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 7, p. 170.

[24] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 26, pp. 238–40.

pla of animals includes a demonstration of the power that love has over the narrator in a way that is intended to represent a memorable and paradigmatic argument of a man to his beloved so that he will remain present to her memory and his passion will eventually be reciprocated by her. The course of the work can be reconstructed as an embryonic *itinéraire amoureux*,[25] but the outcome is equivocal at best, and in many ways it undermines the very attempt at seduction itself: in the place of the epistolary *conclusio*, for example, at the end of the *Bestiaire* one finds the narrator's resigned admission of the limits of verbal persuasion and merely another reiteration of the equally acquiescent appeal that his beloved show mercy. The stance of the narrator has been described as that of a 'half repentant troubadour'.[26]

As noted, bestiary lore is enlisted in the service of clarification and persuasion. For example, the narrator explains to his beloved that he must speak forcefully to her, as the *Bestiaire* represents the entire and final mobilization of all his troops[27] in the effort to win her love — just as the rooster sings the more forcefully the closer it is to midnight, or the wild donkey brays to the point of bursting apart when it is hungry.[28] But the clarification that is represented in the text can become more insistent, and persuasion more bellicose, when the narrator considers that his beloved might have replaced him in her heart by another man, especially the sort of man who wins women's hearts without giving his own to any woman. If that were the case, the narrator says, he would want vengeance, and nothing would be more suitable than if she were to repent of this affront in the manner of the crocodile, an animal that devours a man

---

For the viper in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 183–84.

[25] Gabriel Bianciotto, 'Sur le *Bestiaire d'amour* de Richart de Fournival', in *Epopée animale, fable, fabliau: Actes du IV^e Colloque de la Société internationale Renardienne, Evreux, 7–11 septembre 1981*, ed. by Gabriel Bianciotto and Michel Salvat (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1984), pp. 107–19 (p. 115).

[26] Christopher Lucken, 'Richard de Fournival, ou le clerc de l'amour', in *Le clerc au Moyen Âge: Vingtième Colloque du CUER MA, Aix-en-Provence, mars 1995*, Sénéfiance, 37 (Aix-en-Provence: CUER MA, 1995), pp. 401–15 (p. 415): 'Nous avons vu que ce trouvère à moitié repenti qu'est le clerc du *Bestiaire d'Amours* désigne son oeuvre à l'aide d'une métaphore chevalersesque'.

[27] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 2, p. 158: *arriereban*.

[28] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 3, pp. 160–62. For the rooster in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, p. 104; for the wild donkey, see pp. 144–45.

when it finds him and then sheds tears for him every day for the rest of its life.[29] The narrator rejects the possibility of vengeance as quickly as the idea occurs to him, but in spite of his exclamations of love a dissonant note has been sounded.

The first step towards memory is the unfettered use of the external senses. Both for the narrator's recollection of the depth of his devotion and for its desired recapitulation by his beloved after she has been swayed by the *Bestiaire*, sensation opens the way to the mental processing that leads to memory. Planting the sensations of love in his lady's memory is one of the tools of persuasion, useful in making it all the easier for him to recall her to these feelings and to focus them on himself. In particular, Richard notes, hearing and sight are the doors of memory, and he subscribes to the long medieval tradition that understands these two as the noblest of humanity's senses,[30] but all five of the senses are so essential that the lack of or injury to one of the senses is compensated by the others. Richard follows the Aristotelian tradition in his view that epistemology is based on sensory perception, in that the senses act as the first steps that will result in cognition. As Aquinas did explicitly later, Richard implicitly understands the Peripatetic dictum that 'There is nothing in the intellect that was not previously in the senses' as axiomatic for the process leading from sensation to perception in humans.[31] Sensation also leads to passion, of course, and the demonstration of the narrator's experience of love should serve as a model for the sensory training of his beloved's erotic response. Yet paradoxically the presentation of the depth of passion can also reveal the self-destructive underside of eros. The possibility that love holds out for creating an equality between lovers is mentioned explicitly in the text,[32] but the images that follow this of love as a placid sea or a landscape without hill or valley are belied by the consciousness running throughout the text of all of love's other possibilities: unfulfilled yearning, in the narrator's case; or manipulative gamesmanship, in the case of the cavalier sort of man the narrator warns his beloved about. In an extended passage the narrator articulates both the desire of love and its harmfulness by noting that his senses 'captured' him in his adoration of his beloved, to the point that the dissolution of his self did not lead to union with his beloved, but in fact to the loss of both good sense and memory.[33]

---

[29] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 25, pp. 228–30. On the crocodile in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 106–08.

[30] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 16, p. 200: 'car oïrs et veoirs sont les deus portes de memoire [...] et si sont ore doi des plus nobles sens de l'home'. On the tradition of considering sight and hearing as the noblest senses in the 'bestiary of the five senses', see Michel Pastoureau, 'Le bestiaire des cinq sens (xiie–xvie siècle)', *Micrologus: Natura, Scienze e Società Medievali*, 10 (2002), 133–45.

[31] Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, vol. xxii of *Opera omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita*, ed. by Fratres Ordinis Praedicatorum, 6 vols (Roma: Editori di San Tommaso, 1970–76), <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/qdv02.html>, [accessed 21 May 2013], quaest. 2, art. 3, arg. 19 and ad 19. See Paul F. Cranefield, 'On the Origin of the Phrase NIHIL EST IN INTELLECTU QUOD NON PRIUS FUERIT IN SENSU', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 25 (1970), 77–80.

[32] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 33, p. 256: 'il n'est riens c'Amours ne fache yevel'.

This passage begins with the song of the Sirens, two types of which are half woman and half fish, with a third kind being half woman and half bird.[34] But they all make such pleasant music that no matter how far away a man is, when he hears it he approaches and falls asleep, and the siren kills him then. In this way, the beloved's melody captured the narrator,[35] though he should have acted like the asp which puts its tail in one ear and covers the other with mud to avoid being put to sleep by the sound of music played by those hunting for the balm the asp guards.[36] Sight played a role in capturing the narrator as well,[37] more so than the tiger that is entranced by the vision of its own form in a mirror. For after hunters steal a tiger's cubs, they leave a mirror behind knowing that the tiger will stare at its beauty in the mirror instead of chasing them.[38] The narrator was also captured by smell,[39] just as the animals that follow the panther to their deaths because of the sweetness of its breath, or like the unicorn which falls asleep at the sweet odour of a maiden's virginity and then can be killed by hunters.[40] If the narrator was not completely put to sleep by his remaining two senses — taste in kissing and touch in embracing — this is only because his beloved has thus far withheld these forms of pleasure. The intoxication of the senses to the point of the senselessness of sleep or death is represented as the final stage of an unfulfilling — because unrequited — erotic love, the dissolving of the self in pursuit of the object of love, in which the narrator's frustration of desire expresses itself finally in pleading, cajoling, and threatening.

---

[33] Louise Vinge, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition*, Acta Regiae Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis, 72 (Lund: Gleerup, 1975), pp. 53–58.

[34] On the Sirens in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 166–69.

[35] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 13, p. 184: 'car encor fusse jou pris par vostre canter'.

[36] On the asp in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 88–91.

[37] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 15, p. 198: 'M'aida dont la veue au prendre? Oïl'.

[38] On the tiger in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, pp. 176–77.

[39] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 16, p. 200: 'par le flairier meisme fui je pris'.

[40] On the panther in the French bestiary tradition, see McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and*

III

When Peter of Limoges composed the *Tractatus moralis de oculo* in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (1275/76–89),[41] about twenty to thirty years after the death of Richard de Fournival, the Parisian university was fully involved in the project of absorbing into the Latin West a vast array of new knowledge gained from Greek and Arabic philosophy and natural science. In order to make use of scientific treatises for theological discourse, the procedure tacitly agreed on in Western culture was to describe the universe as exactly as possible with the help of the new natural philosophy, but then, as had in fact always been the case, to put this information at the disposal of theology. Works of *moralia* played an important role in providing a medium through which observations in the natural world could be made comprehensible as demonstrations of what were presented as their spiritual equivalents. At the same time, *moralia* provided a vehicle of pastoral theology to ground a theologian's immersion in scientific texts, negotiating the distance between theology and science by a transposition from physical observation to moral equivalent. Peter's *Tractatus* had a major role to play here as a sermon aid that put perspectivist optics within the grasp of all Christians with or without university training. It is still extant in 219 manuscripts, with evidence of many more attested copies, and it informed the composition of sermons in every region of Europe.

The edification of the senses is central to the goals of the *Tractatus*.[42] As other works on perspectivist optics, Peter's text is based on the understanding

---

French Bestiaries, pp. 148–50; on the unicorn, see pp. 179–83.

[41] Richard Newhauser, 'Der "Tractatus moralis de oculo" des Petrus von Limoges und seine *exempla*', in *Exempel und Exempelsammlungen*, ed. by Walter Haug and Burghart Wachinger, Fortuna vitrea, 2 (Tübingen: Niermeyer, 1991), pp. 95–136.

[42] Richard Newhauser, 'Peter of Limoges, Optics, and the Science of the Senses', in *Pleasure and Danger in Perception: The Five Senses in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, special issue of *The Senses & Society*, 5.1 (2010), 28–44.

that the position of the viewer is as important for sight as the physics of light passing through a particular medium. An entire chapter is devoted to training the eye to accurately see and the mind to correctly interpret the sensory data of thirteen 'extraordinary phenomena', that is, naturally occurring optical illusions or the effects of curved mirrors. The way a rod sticking out of water appears to be broken; how an image observed in a mirror is less vivid than an object seen directly, or how the left and right sides of an object appear transposed in a mirror; the way in which a celestial body appears larger when seen near the horizon than when it is viewed at a higher angle of incidence (an occurrence known as the 'moon illusion') — all of these phenomena require the training of perspectivist optics to be properly seen, and that is to say, to be understood. But to explain these phenomena correctly, the comprehension of their physical characteristics is only the first step. The effects of light refraction or the properties of light rays reflected from a mirror — these scientific explanations are essential, but they are incomplete. As Peter says in the prologue of the *Tractatus*, 'Thus, as I am about to say a few words on the eye — since the edification of souls is contained in it — I want, first of all, to compose a brief section dealing with the matter scientifically and after this to treat it morally'.[43] The method described here establishes a foundation made up of the new teachings on perspectivist optics first, and then goes on to draw ethical and spiritual implications from this material that are important for the text, to the point of allegorizing the scientific explanations for vision themselves.[44] One example of this method will suffice. In treating the twelfth extraordinary phenomenon, Peter notes:

> Moreover, it is proven in perspectivist science that a visible object appears to be larger than it actually is to an eye that is in a medium of lesser density, and the contrary happens when the eye is located in a medium of greater density. For this reason a visible object in water will necessarily appear larger to an eye in the air, but it will appear smaller when the eye is located in the water and the object is situated in the air.[45]

---

[43] Peter of Limoges, *Tractatus moralis de oculo*, Prol.; MS P8, fol. 3^{r}: 'Dicturus igitur pauca de oculo — prout ibi continetur animarum edificacio — primum de ipso sciencialiter, post hoc moraliter, breuem uolo sermonem facere.'

[44] Dallas G. Denery II, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 78.

[45] Peter of Limoges, *Tractatus moralis de oculo*, 6.12; MS P8, fol. 9^{v}: 'Probatur insuper in sciencia perspectiua quod res uisa maior quam sit secundum ueritatem apparet oculo existenti in medio rariori, econtrario contingit oculo posito in medio densiori. Vnde oculo existenti in

The completion of this lesson reads morals and physics as forming a continuum of equivalency, and in a way that is typical of Peter's view of the ethics of social justice:

> In similar fashion it often happens that when a poor person living on the dry land of poverty sees someone overflowing with worldly riches, he considers that rich man to be great, whence the Psalm: 'They have called people blessed who own such things' [Ps 143:15]. But he is deceived in the judgement of his sight.[46]

In the course of his moral treatment of optics Peter returns to the same material from the bestiary tradition Richard de Fournival had employed, and there is suggestive evidence that Peter borrowed the conjunction of sensory analysis and animal lore from the *Bestiaire d'amour*. Certainly, an examination of the external senses in the context of the legendary properties of animals is not unknown in other works. The long version of the *Bestiary* attributed to Pierre de Beauvais echoes Richard's enumeration of the five senses, the way nature compensates for a defect in one sense by strengthening one of the others, and the position of sight as the noblest of the senses.[47] The long version was formerly considered the model for the *Bestiaire d'amour*, but in fact the recent edition of this work attributed to Pierre de Beauvais considers Richard's text 'the most important source of the long version after the translation of the *Physiologus* by Pierre de Beauvais'.[48] In any case, the long version of the *Bestiary* does not include passages in which someone is captured by his senses while in the throes of sexual desire and in which seizure by the senses is related to the properties of animals.

But Peter's *Tractatus* does, and with largely the same animals in the same order in which they are found in Richard's work, and with some verbal parallels between the texts as well.

---

aere rem uisam existentem in aqua maiorem necesse est apparere, minorem autem oculo in aqua defixo et re uisa in aere collocata.'

[46] Peter of Limoges, *Tractatus moralis de oculo*, 6.12; MS P8, fol. 9^{v}: 'Modo consimili plerumque contingit quod pauper aliquis existens in arido paupertatis cum uidet aliquem mundanis opulenciis affluentem, ipsum iudicat esse magnum, unde Psalmus: *Beatum dixerunt populum, cui hec sunt*. Sed fallitur in iudicio uisus eius.'

[47] Pierre de Beauvais, *Le Bestiaire: Version longue attribuée à Pierre de Beauvais*, ed. by Craig Baker, Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge, 163 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010), chap. LXVII, p. 232.

[48] Craig Baker, 'Introduction', in Pierre de Beauvais, *Le Bestiaire*, ed. by Baker, p. 27. See also Craig Baker, 'Retour sur la filiation des bestiaires de Richard de Fournival et du pseudo-Pierre de Beauvais', *Romania*, 127.1–2 (2009), 58–85.

Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire*, 12–16, pp. 176–211
  Hearing: Sirens (with additional discussion of asp, blackbird, mole, bees)
  Sight: Tiger
  Smell: Panther, unicorn
  (Taste: kissing)
  (Touch: embracing)

Peter of Limoges, *Tractatus*, 8.7, MS P8, fols 24^{r}–26^{v}
  Hearing: Sirens (with additional discussion of Argus)
  Sight: Tiger
  Smell: Panther
  <Taste: not present>
  Touch: Unicorn

In the treatment of the sin of lust in chapter 8, Peter maintains that:

> A woman captures a man not only by his eyes, but also by each one of his senses, and first of all by the sense of hearing. The Sirens are sea monsters that possess the facial appearance of a maiden and attract sailors by their song, and just as they cast the men they have allured into a deep sleep and kill the slumberers, so also a woman attracts a man with her song and makes him fall asleep in sin, and thus she kills him spiritually.[49]

And Peter further observes, as had Richard's narrator, that in the commission of this sin both the man and the woman are to blame, though the narrator of the *Bestiaire* had then, with a self-aggrandizing flourish, taken all the responsibility for this sin on himself:

> Thus, I am dead; that's the truth. Is there a chance to recover? I don't know who killed me, either you or me, but only that both of us are guilty, as also with the man whom the siren killed when she caused him to fall asleep through her song. For there are three kinds of sirens [...] and their melody is so pleasing that if a man hears it, no matter how far away he may be he must come to it; and when he is close, he falls asleep. When the siren finds him sleeping, she kills him. It seems to me that the siren is very guilty when she kills him treacherously, but the man is very guilty since he gives in to her. And I am dead because of a similar situation, and you and I

---

[49] Peter of Limoges, *Tractatus moralis de oculo*, 8.7; MS P8, fol. 25^{v}: 'Mulier autem non tantum capit uirum per oculos sed eciam per sensus singulos, et primum per auditum. Sicut et Syrene, que sunt monstra quedam marina uirgineum uultum habencia, que cantu suo nauigantes alliciunt, illectis soporem immittunt et soporatos interficiunt, sic et mulier cantu suo hominem attrahit et in peccato obdormire facit et sic spiritualiter ipsum interficit.'

> are guilty of this. But I don't dare accuse you of treason; I shall put the blame only on myself and say that I killed myself.[50]

In Peter's text, as in Richard's, hearing is followed by a notice of how a woman captures a man through his sight, using the example of the tiger:[51]

> *Bestiaire*: M'aida dont la veue au prendre? Oïl: miex fui je pris a mon veoir que tigres n'est au mireoir, qui tant ne sera ja courchiés pour ses faons, s'on li emble, que s'ele encontre .j. mireoir enmi se voie, qu'il ne li couviegne ses iex aerdre. Si que li sage veneour, qui se nature sevent, metent .j. miroir enmi le voie, et par illeuc s'en vont fuiant atout ses faons. Et quant li tigres qui chiaus sieut voit le miroir enmi se voie, si se delite tant en remirer le grant biauté de se bonne taille qu'ele ouvlie ciaus qui ses faons li ont emblés, et s'areste aussi comme prise.
>
> [Did, thus, sight help in capturing me? Yes: I was more surely captured than even the tiger by a mirror, for however enraged it becomes if someone steals its cubs, if it comes across a mirror along the way, it must fix its eyes on it. If experienced hunters who know its nature place a mirror along the way, they can escape with the cubs. And when the tiger following them sees the mirror along the way, it delights so much in contemplating the great beauty of its lovely form that it forgets those who stole its cubs and halts as if captured.][52]

> *Tractatus*: Secundo mulier capit per uisum. Tigris enim, dum cernit speculum in uia a uenatoribus ex industria positum, delectata pulcritudine speculi sistit gradum et obliuiscitur catulorum suorum. Per speculum lucidum intellige corpus mulieris ornatum quod, cum stultus aliquis respicit, spiritualem aliquando gradum figit et celestia que deberet insequi obliuioni tradit.
>
> [Second, a woman captures through the sense of sight. For when a tiger perceives a mirror placed in its path intentionally by hunters, it halts in its tracks, charmed by

---

[50] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 12–13, pp. 182–84: 'Dont sui je mors, c'est voirs; i a il point de recouvrier? Ne sai qui m'a mort, ou vous, ou je, fors c'ambedoi i avons coupes, aussi con de chelui que la seraine ochist quant ele l'a endormi par son chanter. Car il sont .iij. manieres de seraines [...] et leur melaudie est tant plaisans que s'uns hom l'ot, ja tant n'iert loins qu'il ne lui couviegne venir; et quant il est pres, si s'endort. Et quant la seraine le trueve endormi, si l'ochist. Si me sanle que la seraine i a grant coupes quant ele l'ochist en traïson, et li hom grant coupes quant il s'i croit. Et se je sui mors par tele occoison, et jou et vous i avons coupes. Mais je ne vous os sus metre le traïson, si n'en mec les coupes fors que seur moi, et dirai que jou meisme me sui mors.'

[51] In the following, I have drawn attention to the parallels in the vocabulary by underlining corresponding terms.

[52] Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 15, p. 198.

> its own beauty in the mirror, and forgets its young. In the place of the bright mirror understand the adorned body of a woman; when someone who is a fool looks at it, it sometimes transfixes him in his spiritual tracks and leads him to forget the heavenly things which he should pursue.][53]

And next a man is captured through his sense of smell, exemplified by the panther, in both Peter's work and that by Richard.

There are obvious differences between the texts as well. Richard expands his treatment of hearing by referring to four more animals than simply the Sirens; in the expansion on hearing in the *Tractatus*, Peter refers to the narrative of Mercury putting all one hundred of Argus's eyes to sleep with his music and then killing him.[54] Taste is skipped in the *Tractatus*, though the unicorn does come next in the series of animals, placed here under the sense of touch. If Peter had the series of animals in front of him that Richard had used earlier, he must have found it just as possible to include the unicorn under touch as smell, but not taste. The unicorn is attracted by the smell of virginity, but it is not captured until it lays its head in a virgin's lap. Peter also makes reference to the *Physiologus* when writing about the properties of the panther and nowhere mentions Richard's work. Peter takes great pleasure in citing many of his sources by name, though he never refers the reader to his major source: Roger Bacon's *Perspectiva*.[55] But it is undoubtedly too much to expect him to refer explicitly in his treatment of moral vision to a work on erotic love. Still, the evidence of the relationship of the texts is suggestive, and though we commonly expect lines of transmission to move from Latin into the vernacular, especially in the case of moral-theological works, there is no reason why a man with such wide reading interests as Peter of Limoges would not have been acquainted with many kinds of vernacular literature. The most well-known reaction to Richard's work is the anonymous *Response du Bestiaire* that is transmitted with the *Bestiaire d'amour* in a number of early manuscripts and in which the lady is represented as replying to the earlier narrator by turning the tables on him, making women the more refined creatures and the narrator of Richard's work only an example of a man using deceptive speech.[56] But Peter's text serves as a different type of corrective to the eroticism of the *Bestiaire*, in effect a response of his own that may very well have taken for granted a knowledge of Richard's work among the learned readers in university circles in Paris.

---

[53] Peter of Limoges, *Tractatus moralis de oculo*, 8.7, MS P8, fol. 26^r.

[54] For the story of Argus and Mercury, see Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, FF Communications, 204 (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969; 2nd edn, 1981), no. 1298. Richard also relates the story of Argus shortly after the explicit mention of the senses: Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, 17–18, pp. 212–16.

[55] On Peter's treatment of his sources, see Richard Newhauser, 'Introduction', in Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, trans. by Newhauser, pp. xiv–xvi.

Whether this section of the *Tractatus* derives directly from the *Bestiaire d'amour* or whether they both have a common source, the explicit misogyny in the *Tractatus* transforms eroticism into the flight response. The assumptions of the same misogyny in Richard's work are, of course, exposed in the *Response*. But in the *Tractatus*, no first-person voice remains to testify to the depth of passion, hoping for its reciprocation, but only a third-person discursiveness to be delivered from the pulpit in the full hearing of the gathered congregation. And yet the very assertiveness of Peter's text, not only in chapter 8 but throughout the *Tractatus*, bears witness to the potency of the erotic for him, as it also emphasizes the ease with which the sensorial and the female had become in some discourses equivalent in the Middle Ages. The residue of the sensory attractiveness of love that had been foregrounded in Richard's work remains in Peter's treatise only as a subtext; it has been overlaid with a veneer of explicit warning against women as the inciters to the sin of lust; it is a call to identify potentially arousing sensory stimulation and to curtail it. In other words, it is a statement of Christian metaphysics' distrust of the senses as the portals of sinfulness. Where Richard had made the senses part of the demonstration of amorousness and thus the representation of a programme of seduction, Peter is intent to convert this material to educate his audience in filtering sensory stimuli in order to avoid the erotic. In either case — clerical humanism with Ovidian interests or academic theology with pastoral interests — the works examined here demonstrate that, in the edification of the senses, epistemology and Christian metaphysics converge.

---

[56] *La Réponse du Bestiaire*, in Richard de Fournival, *Le Bestiaire d'amour*, ed. and trans. by Bianciotto, pp. 278–335. The *Response* reacts to each major animal in turn that is mentioned in Richard's *Bestiaire*, applying the positive lessons of the animal lore to herself and accusing Richard's narrator of deceptiveness. In response to the passage of Richard's work under examination here, she notes that she will protect herself so as not to be like the man who falls asleep at the siren's song, that she will not allow herself to be deceived like the tiger, etc. The animals in this passage are not related specifically to the senses.

Part V

Rhetoric and Performance

RHETORIC AND REMEDIES: OR, HOW TO PERSUADE A PLANT IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Lori Ann Garner

> I wish to call into question the impulse to identify a timeless essence of rhetoric based on the nostalgic longing for a unified discipline that never existed as such. […] In practice, classical rhetoric, like medieval rhetoric, encompassed both oral and written discourse and permeated a broader range of social practices than those enumerated in the treatises devoted specifically to the discipline itself.
>
> — Martin Camargo[1]

> Gemyne ðu, Mucgwyrt, hwæt þu ameldodest […].
> [Remember, Mugwort, what you declared […].]
>
> — *Lacnunga*, London, British Library, MS Harley 585, fol. 160^{r}

> Wyrt ricinum, ic bidde þæt þu ætsy minum sangum […].
> [Ricinum plant, I ask that you be present at my song […].]
>
> — Old English *Herbarium*, London, British Library, MS Harley 585, fol. 93^{v}

---

[1] Martin Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric', in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, Disputatio, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 21–34 (p. 22). As an example of Camargo's innovative approaches to medieval rhetoric and performance, see Martin Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act', *New Medieval Literatures*, 9 (2007), 41–62.

Lori Ann Garner is Associate Professor of English at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee. She is the author of *Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England* (2011) and has published articles on Anglo-Saxon healing remedies, the Old English poems *Judith* and *Andreas*, the Middle English *Brut*, medieval carols, modern adaptations of *Beowulf*, approaches to teaching oral traditions, and proverbs in medieval epic and romance. Her current work explores Anglo-Saxon charms and medical texts within the dual contexts of oral tradition and literate culture.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 231–252 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107457

As the opening quote above makes clear, Martin Camargo's work not only acknowledges but even embraces the inherent variability within the category of 'medieval rhetoric', an approach especially productive for the Anglo-Saxon period where the relationship 'between Latin rhetoric and the vernacular tradition' is 'illusive' at best.[2] Camargo invites scholars to be equally innovative in their study of rhetorical devices employed across a range of texts, in order to best understand and interpret the creative variation in medieval writings. The present essay is intended in part as a response to Camargo's call for attention to 'a broader range of social practices', examining the rhetoric of address to herbs in Anglo-Saxon books of remedies.[3] As Louise Bishop has aptly noted, in medieval and early modern medicine, 'healing, bodies, and words are linked materially, rhetorically, historically, and philosophically'.[4] In an effort to further the exploration of such links across fields as seemingly far-flung as rhetoric, oral tradition, and medicine, the analysis that follows explores specific rhetorical strategies thought to be most convincing to plants by medieval practitioners in early medieval England, strategies that draw from both Germanic and Latinate traditions in powerful and mutually enriching ways.

Medieval Contexts for Verbal Healing

Compared with many other genres of the Anglo-Saxon period, a substantial body of medical literature survives, making healing charms an especially fruitful area for comparative study.[5] The two most complete medical compilations of vernacular remedies are found in a manuscript commonly known as the *Leechbook* (London, British Library, MS Royal 12 D XVII) and the *Lacnunga* (BL, MS Harley 585). In addition to these vernacular remedies, there are also extant collections translated from Latin into Old English, most notably the Old English *Herbarium*.[6] Beyond these dedicated collections, there are numerous other vernacular charms and remedies scattered throughout various manuscripts, sometimes even inscribed in the margins (such as the metrical charms of Cambridge, Corpus Cristi College, MS 41). Across these disparate texts, we see great diversity in healing methods, including herbal remedies, songs and incantations, elaborate rituals, and dietary prescriptions. This expansive body of healing lore assists with an equally vast spectrum of problems, remedies intended not only for physical ailments but also for challenges ranging from childbirth and dangerous travel to hailstorms and even stolen cattle.

---

[2] Janie Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity: The Adaptation of Latin Rhetoric in Old English Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 3.

[3] Camargo's urging with regard to medieval studies is also at the forefront of larger movements within the field of rhetoric more widely. Swearingen and Schiappa, for instance, note an increase in recent scholarship to 'attend to the presence of multiple rhetorical models and cultures throughout the world', leading to 'a rich new diversity and revisionism among research methods' and a growing 'movement toward inclusion and comparison'. C. Jan Swearingen and Edward Schiappa, 'Historical and Comparative Rhetorical Studies: Revisionist Methods and New Directions', in *The Sage Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, ed. by Andrea A. Lunsford and others (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), pp. 1–12 (p. 1). The implications are especially pronounced for studies involving medicine, since, as Jeanne Fahnestock explains, 'the rhetoric of the natural sciences is an area of intense scholarly activity' as 'scientists themselves' are becoming 'receptive to investigations of their persuasive practices'. Jeanne Fahnestock, 'The Rhetoric of the Natural Sciences', in *The Sage Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, ed. by Lunsford and others, pp. 175–95 (p. 190).

[4] Louise M. Bishop, *Words, Stone, and Herbs: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), p. 83.

The amorphous body of medieval medical literature from Anglo-Saxon England defies much of our modern categorical thinking, and the possibilities for exploration within medieval rhetoric and medicine are vast indeed. As Jennifer Vaught has noted, for many medieval and early modern cultures, 'words have the power to expose, cause, and even cure infection'.[7] In parts of the medieval world, for instance, we see disease employed metaphorically 'as rhetorical figures for all kinds of moral and spiritual failings'.[8] And in other medieval texts, we see concepts of disease and illness as physical manifestations of sin, in keeping with 'the medieval notion of the sickness of sin as both metaphoric and metonymic'.[9] Even well into the early modern period, there are authors who 'attribute curative agency to biting rhetoric'.[10] Thus, as Lisi Oliver and Maria Mahoney astutely observe in their discussion of rhetoric and anatomy in the early Middle Ages, 'a single rhetoric is not sufficient for the portrayal of the ultimate reality',[11] and discussion here is thus limited to a very specific phenomenon as manifest within a single manuscript. Building from previous scholarship addressing productive connections between charms and rhetoric at a general level,[12] and numerous studies devoted to identification of rhetorical devices in Anglo-Saxon vernacular verse in particular,[13] the present exploration isolates a particular mode of verbal discourse within the broadly conceived genre of Anglo-Saxon medical lore: persuasive speech directed towards plants.[14] By focusing on the variations of verbal rhetoric employed in the persuasion of plants, we can come to a more nuanced understanding of how Anglo-Saxon medical practitioners viewed themselves in relation to the world of medicine and the healing plants that they employed in their remedies.

---

[5] For a concise overview of medical writings in Anglo-Saxon England, see Stephanie Hollis, 'Scientific and Medical Writings', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Maldon: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), pp. 188–208 (pp. 194–205).

[6] The Old English *Herbarium* survives in four manuscripts, dating from the tenth to the twelfth centuries: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76; London, British Library, MS Harley 585; London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C iii; and London, British Library, MS Harley 6258B.

[7] Introduction to *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Vaught (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 17.

[8] *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health*, ed. by Vaught, p. 11.

[9] James C. Nohrnberg, '"This Disfigured People": Representations of Sin as Pathological Bodily and Mental Affliction in Dante's *Inferno* XXIX–XXX', in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health*, ed. by Vaught, pp. 43–64 (p. 45).

---

[10] *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health*, ed. by Vaught, p. 17.

[11] Lisi Oliver and Maria Mahoney, 'Episcopal Anatomies of the Early Middle Ages', in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health*, ed. by Vaught, pp. 25–41 (p. 25).

[12] See, for instance, Jonathon Roper's attempt to identify 'the rhetorical structures and devices typically present in the words of a charm': Jonathon Roper, 'Towards a Poetics, Rhetorics, and Proxemics of Verbal Charms', *Folklore*, 24 (2003), 7–49 (p. 23). While his goal is to devise terminology applicable to verbal charms cross-culturally and his primary examples draw from ancient Egypt, he treats Anglo-Saxon charms in particular on pp. 10–11. See also Edward Karshner's exploration of 'the parallel epistemological roles magic and mysticism share with rhetoric and philosophy': Edward Karshner, 'Thought, Utterance, Power: Toward a Rhetoric of Magic', *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 44 (2011), 52–71 (p. 53).

[13] See Reinsma for a bibliography of scholarship addressing the subject of rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England through the mid-1970s: Luke M. Reinsma, 'Rhetoric, Grammar, and Literature in England and Ireland before the Norman Conquest: A Select Bibliography', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 8 (1978), 29–48. An analysis of Old English poems as political rhetoric can be found in Peter R. Richardson, 'Making Thanes: Literature, Rhetoric and State Formation in Anglo-Saxon England', *Philological Quarterly*, 78 (1999), 215–32. Ursula Schaefer offers a very insightful treatment of rhetorical structures present in *Beowulf* as well as a history of relevant scholarship on the subject: Ursula Schaefer, 'Rhetoric and Style', in *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. by Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 105–24. See further Gabriele Knappe on adaptation of classical rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Gabriele Knappe, 'Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 27 (1998), 5–29.

[14] For an enlightening and innovative exploration of medieval rhetorical genres, see Murphy, this volume.

Hybrid Healing and BL, MS Harley 585

In both Latinate and Germanic remedies of Anglo-Saxon England, the performance of verbal incantations was a vital aspect of a healing practice long viewed as a collaborative enterprise with the herbs themselves. Offering a unique opportunity for comparison of remedies drawn from Germanic tradition alongside those translated fairly literally into Old English from known Latin sources, BL, MS Harley 585 is a particularly apt focal point for such study. The Old English *Herbarium* (BL, MS Harley 585, fols 1ʳ–101ᵛ) renders translations of remedies collected almost entirely from Latin compilations, while the medical text widely known as *Lacnunga* (fols 130ʳ–151ᵛ and 157ʳ–193ʳ) comprises a miscellany of charms and remedies, including a number of poetic incantations in alliterative Old English verse. And where the *Lacnunga* is organized (albeit loosely) around ailments, the *Herbarium* organizes remedies pharmaceutically by herb. Yet as different as these two medical texts are from one another at a surface level, the compilers' choice in including both collections suggests that the two works were nonetheless seen as offering parallel and complementary modes of healing for Anglo-Saxon practitioners.

Among the significant performative features shared by both texts within this manuscript are directives for speech to herbs: specifically *mugwort*,[15] *wegbrade* (literally, way-broad, most likely plantain), *attorlaðe* (literally, venom-hater),[16] and *mægðe* (chamomile)[17] as treated in the *Lacnunga* within the so-called 'Nine Herbs Charm'; and the herbs *ricinum* (*ricinus communis L.*, or castor-oil plant) and *peruica* (*vinca maior L.*, or periwinkle plant) as treated in the *Herbarium*.[18]

---

[15] The Latin plant name is *artemisia*. For a discussion of this herb and its nomenclature, see Philip G. Rusche, 'Dioscorides' *De materia medica*', in *From Earth to Art: The Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by C. P. Biggam (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), pp. 181–94 (pp. 182–83).

[16] Hans Sauer identifies this plant as 'cockspur grass': Hans Sauer, 'The Morphology of Old English Plant-Names', in *From Earth to Art*, ed. by Biggam, pp. 161–79 (p. 166).

[17] For discussion of the history of *maythe* as treated in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and its various medieval and modern identifications, see Anthony Esposito, 'Medieval Plant-Names in the *Oxford English Dictionary*', in *From Earth to Art*, ed. by Biggam, pp. 231–48 (pp. 243–45).

[18] The remedies to be discussed here can be found as follows: *Lacnunga*, 'Nine Herbs Charm', fols 160ʳ–163ᵛ; *Herbarium*, chap. 176 (*ricinum*), fols 93ᵛ–94ʳ; *Herbarium*, chap. 179 (periwinkle), fols 96ʳ–97ʳ. All citations to the *Lacnunga* are from Edward Pettit's thorough and detailed edition: *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585: The Lacnunga*, ed. and trans. by Edward Pettit, 2 vols (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001). Quotations from the *Herbarium* follow Jan de Vriend's edition of BL, MS Cotton

While both texts incorporate speech to plants, however, the specific ways that the healers are called upon to persuade these respective herbs reflect distinctly Germanic and Latinate rhetorical tendencies.

Representing the more Germanic tradition of healing, the 'Nine Herbs Charm' of the *Lacnunga* invokes the power of nine herbs to be employed against nine poisons. This metrical charm opens by itemizing and praising the individual herbs (ll. 1–29). Next, the poem moves into a more collective treatment of the nine together, providing mythopoetic contexts ultimately attributing the herbs' powers to Woden (ll. 30–40) and then elaborating on the many poisons and ailments against which the herbs are said to hold power (ll. 41–57). Then, in a telling illustration of this healing tradition's genuine hybridity, the poem concludes with an invocation of Christ. Following these poetic portions of the text are instructions for preparation of the herbs into a paste and salve along with directions to sing the charm over the plants themselves and also into the mouth, ears, and sores of the person to be healed.[19] The portions of this metrical charm that involve direct addresses to herbs all occur within the first thirty lines.

The context for directly addressing herbs is markedly different in the *Herbarium*, as this text adheres closely to the organization of its Latin models in providing more discrete entries ordered individually by herb. Periwinkle's entry in the *Herbarium* attributes numerous powers to the plant, ranging from the treatment of mental conditions such as 'devil sickness' ('deofolseocnyssa') to poisons from snakes and even to abstract troubles such as envy or fear. After the list of attributes, the entry provides an incantation to recite prior to picking the herb, concluding with a brief admonition to be 'clean' when picking the plant. The entry for *ricinum*, which follows the same general structure, more

---

Vitellius C iii, the language of which is virtually identical to that of BL, MS Harley 585: *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, ed. by Jan de Vriend (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984). D'Aronco argues that for certain chapters (including chap. 179), 'the Anglo-Saxon translation preserves a different and better text than the one which has survived in the Latin tradition': Maria Amalia D'Aronco, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy and the Latin Medical Tradition', in *From Earth to Art*, ed. by Biggam, pp. 133–51 (p. 143). The full manuscript can be viewed via the British Library's Digitised Manuscript collection: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_585>. Throughout the essay, I have used capitalization when discussing the anthropomorphized herbs and lower case in other contexts.

[19] Because the charm is both preceded and followed by remedies for *fig* (hemorrhoids), Michael Cameron assumes that the 'Nine Herbs Charm' was likely utilized for the same purpose and notes that six of the nine 'should have had some efficacy in treating them': M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 147. He argues here that the incantation thus 'seems to be an addition to an otherwise rational treatment'.

directly targets threats from the natural world — specifically hail, lightning, and other rough weather. As with periwinkle, *ricinum*'s attributes are followed by an incantation spoken to the herb invoking the power of God in bringing the herb's powers to full effect. In both of these Old English entries, the incantation is provided first in Latin, followed by an Old English rendering.[20]

The macaronic nature of this entry helps us to see that while the *Herbarium* remedies do indeed have identifiable Latin antecedents, these entries should not be viewed as any less integral or 'authentic' than their vernacular counterparts in Anglo-Saxon medicine. The translation into Old English of these Latin-derived entries across various manuscripts further suggests their full incorporation into the Anglo-Saxon healing tradition.[21] If we shift our focus from origins to performativity, the two linguistically and culturally distinct texts emerge in ritual performance as complementary, at times even overlapping, modes of healing. From this perspective, the Latinate origins of the incantations are inherent to the charms' power.

Indeed, the fact that the incantation is provided first in Latin and then only afterwards translated into Old English — in a text that otherwise silently converts Latin remedies into the Old English vernacular — suggests that the rhetorical power of the spoken address must have been seen as deriving at least in part from its language, with the Latin and the vernacular playing complementary, but not interchangeable, roles within the healing economy. The reduplication of the incantation in Latin and Old English provides important information as to how these remedies might have been understood by early readers of the text. The fact that the translation was thought necessary at all implies an audience of healers reading and performing the charm who were not assumed to know Latin. Just as importantly, however, this presentation in the manuscript indicates that even though the implied speakers of the incantation were not assumed to know Latin, they were still expected to speak to periwinkle and *ricinum* in Latin. In short, it was important for the speaker to know what the words meant, but the meaning alone was insufficient for the charms' rhetorical power; the words had to be understood in English but voiced (at least the first time) in Latin.

---

[20] D'Aronco asserts that this 'prayer should be recited twice before picking the plant, first in Latin and then in Old English': D'Aronco, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy', p. 143. Others, however, view the Latin text as the portion to be recited and the Old English translation as an informative clarification.

[21] Chapters 13–85 'are the translation of a choice, whose criteria are still unclear, of remedies derived from two pseudo-Dioscoridean treatises, the *Liber medicinae ex herbis feminis* and the *Curae herbarum*, besides a group of seven chapters of uncertain origin' (D'Aronco, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy', p. 134). Chapter 176, for *ricinum* (to be discussed further below), is one of these of uncertain origin, but it clearly draws from this same Latinate tradition. Chapter 179 (periwinkle) closely follows Dioscorides, *Liber medicinae ex herbis feminis*. The remedy as found in MS L (Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, no. 296), fol. 37^{v}, is printed in *The Old English Herbarium*, ed. by de Vriend.

The linguistic code-switching within Anglo-Saxon charm texts reflects a productive hybridity in ritual performance that depends not only upon the voicing of diglossic texts but also upon dual rhetorical strategies in the persuasion of the herbs. As Lea Olsan has demonstrated in her work with macaronic charms of medieval England, 'by and large the most salient feature of the short Latin texts that are denominated charms […] is their Christian character'.[22] While the *Herbarium* entries and the 'Nine Herbs Charm' are both, like most literature of the period, clearly produced in Christian contexts, references to a Christian god are more pervasive in the Latin charm text of the *Herbarium*, as will be discussed at more length below. At a very basic level, the use of Latin thus does indeed seem to activate a more consistently Christian register. Less fully explored are the rhetorical structures concomitant with this Christian context.

The very phenomenon of speaking to herbs activates a fairly specialized register. Most herbal remedies in this manuscript (and the wider healing tradition) that include verbal components at all dictate that the incantations be recited *over* herbs or, even more generally, provide words that can be spoken *about* herbs. But the herbs involved in these particular herbal remedies (*Herbarium* entries 176 and 179 and *Lacnunga*, 'Nine Herbs Charm') are not only spoken to directly, but are also called upon explicitly to perform tasks to aid the speaker. This shared framework across the two texts allows us to identify and explore subtle differences between strategies of persuasion *towards* herbs with regard to their Latinate and Germanic registers respectively.

The richness and complexity of this hybrid healing has at times been overlooked since those moments calling for speech towards plants have often been dismissed as mere superstition.[23] The concept of a healer as a rhetorician is less anachronistic than it might otherwise seem when we take into account that during the medieval period, especially in parts of Europe, 'medical prediction, as an art dependent on personal skills such as memory and conjecture, was taught with the aid of the liberal arts of rhetoric and logic'.[24] Even after the advent of humanism in the early modern period, 'learned physicians followed the lead of the larger intellectual community', as Nancy Siraisi has observed. Drawing evidence in part from the large number of orations given by physicians, Siraisi demonstrates that premodern medicine participated actively in what was 'a still largely rhetorical culture'.[25] Though short in length compared with more conventional persuasive arguments in public speeches or other such forums, the incantations of Anglo-Saxon medical texts nonetheless employ a range of strategies in their solicitation of herbal healing power, strategies related especially closely to the rhetorical figures of *apostrophe*, *personification*, *prosopopoeia*, *chiasmus*, *anaphora*, and *metonymy*.

---

[22] Lea Olsan, 'Latin Charms of Medieval England: Verbal Healing in a Christian Tradition', *Oral Tradition*, 7 (1992), 116–42 (p. 117).

[23] On the distancing of medieval charms from medical practice in modern scholarship, see Anne Van Arsdall, 'Reading Medieval Texts with an Open Mind', in *Textual Healing: Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Medicine*, ed. by Elizabeth Lane Furdell (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 9–29. Van Arsdall cites Anglo-Saxon medical works as 'a case in point' of modern

I would like to stress from the outset that in using classical rhetorical terms I am not positing a conscious or intentional employment of classical rhetoric by Anglo-Saxon scribes or medics.[26] As Janie Steen explains, 'the historical evidence is too weak to show that Anglo-Saxon poets were rhetorically trained'; however, 'it is clear that Latin rhetorical devices did find their way into vernacular verse'.[27] Whether or not the employment of rhetorical figures was in conscious emulation of classical authors, vernacular poets' 'close reading and

---

tendencies to dismiss medieval medicine as 'interesting yet ineffectual, if not appalling, relics from the past'. As she explains, medieval treatments were largely viewed as 'worthless from a medical standpoint' and were thus 'plumbed [...] for other material, such as superstitions', a pattern that has had strong and lingering influences on how these texts were interpreted (p. 9).

[24] Luke E. Demaitre, 'The Art and Science of Prognostication in Early University Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 77 (2003), 765–88 (p. 765).

[25] Nancy G. Siraisi, 'Oratory and Rhetoric in Renaissance Medicine', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65 (2004), 191–211 (p. 204).

[26] Compelling arguments, however, have been made previously for the conscious employment of rhetorical device by vernacular poets. See, for instance, Jackson Campbell's description of *The Wanderer* as the work of a 'conscious rhetorical artificer', 'fully cognizant of the techniques to be learned from the Latin rhetorical tradition as well as the English alliterative tradition': Jackson J. Campbell, 'Learned Rhetoric in Old English Poetry', *Modern Philology*, 63 (1966), 189–201 (p. 201). But the argument put forth in the present study bases no claims on intentionality, leaving open the possibility (and even likelihood) that features shared by vernacular and Latinate texts reflect an overlapping aesthetic that may or may not have been conscious. As Campbell astutely observes, 'Latin learning was far from incompatible with an ability to compose in the formulaic style': ibid., p. 194.

[27] Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*, p. 19.

absorption of works by Christian Latin authors could have exercised a much deeper influence on their own compositions than any diligent burrowing in Latin rhetorical manuals'.[28] This line of thinking is entirely consistent with the linguistic and cultural hybridity typical of oral and oral-derived texts. While it might be tempting to align vernacular/Latin categories with oral/literate learning, the situation is more complex. Focusing specifically on the Old English *Herbarium* but with regard to the larger 'early medieval world', Van Arsdall argues for 'a system of apprenticeship' — one notably encompassing both vernacular and Latin healing traditions — of which the written texts that survive to us today were only 'a secondary resource' to the 'unwritten text[s]' in 'the voice of the teacher and the memory of the apprentice healer'.[29] While in terms of origin the *Herbarium* arguably comes from a more 'literary' tradition and the vernacular *Lacnunga* more 'oral', in social practice neither has meaning outside of oral and aural performance. From a synchronic perspective, then, the two texts offer contemporaneous models for verbal healing.

Thus, the nature of the connections between these two medical texts in BL, MS Harley 585 is complex indeed. On the one hand, the *Lacnunga* clearly reflects a more Germanic mode of healing than the Old English *Herbarium*, for which almost every remedy can be traced to a known Latin source. On the other hand, the compiler of the Old English *Herbarium* was selective, and it stands to reason that the choices reflect a tendency to incorporate charms bearing features already familiar and meaningful to Anglo-Saxon audiences. Although incantations of both of the manuscript's compilations share certain rhetorical strategies, the *ways* these features are employed reflect distinctly different, but nonetheless complementary, ideologies and concepts of healing. Both in the compilation as a whole and in the isolated remedies comprising its contents, the productive syncretism of Latinate and Germanic medical traditions characterizes the approach to healing and restoration reflected in the manuscript.

---

[28] Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*, p. 16.

[29] Van Arsdall, 'Reading Medieval Texts', pp. 18–19. See also John M. Riddle, 'Theory and Practice in Medieval Medicine', *Viator*, 5 (1974), 157–84. In Riddle's view, 'when one particular part of an herb, say a root, was found as being effective for some specific action, this information was orally transmitted whenever and wherever men communicated and one generation taught another. This process takes place independently of literary transmission' (p. 165).

Apostrophe, Personification, and Prosopopoeia

The very speech act of addressing the herbs in the two medical texts within BL, MS Harley 585 invites comparative exploration of the interrelated rhetorical devices of apostrophe, personification, and prosopopoeia. However, while the charms in both the *Herbarium* and the *Lacnunga* use seemingly similar types of direct address in soliciting the respective herbs' assistance, the ways in which the herbs are addressed — and, consequently, the relationships implied between healer and herb — differ markedly. Within the *Herbarium*, herbs are assumed to enter the human realm from elsewhere during each charm's performance. Ricinum, for instance, is asked to 'be present': 'I ask that you be present at my songs' (CLXXVI, ll. 22–23).[30] Similarly, Periwinkle is asked to 'come to me', even though presumably the speaker is clearly already in possession of the physical herb: 'I ask [...] that you gladly come to me' (CLXXIX, ll. 20–21).[31] The effect in these Latin-derived charms is thus to separate the spirits of the herbs from the physical plants themselves, a very different state of affairs from that implied in the 'Nine Herbs Charm' incantations, where the formulaic language employed not only assumes that the herbs' spirits are already present but that the herbs have been present and sentient all along.

Two of the four direct addresses to plants in the 'Nine Herbs Charm' open with an explicit invocation to remember: 'Remember, Mugwort' (l. 1) and 'Remember, Maythe' (l. 23).[32] The address to Way-broad does not invoke a verb of memory, but it does likewise operate from the assumption that the herb is already innately strong — animate, listening, and ready to be persuaded: 'And you, Way-broad, mother of herbs, open from the east, mighty within' (ll. 7–8).[33]

---

[30] '[I]c bidde þæt þu ætsy minum sangum'. The rhetorical persistence of apostrophe and personification continued into the early Middle English period, where their uses become more defined and explicit, as both receive fairly extensive treatment as modes of amplification in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*. See *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, trans. by Margaret F. Nims, rev. edn, ed. by Martin Camargo (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), pp. 27–35. This Old English entry is adapted from the Latin 'herba ricinum precor uti adsis meis incantationibus'.

[31] '[I]c bidde [...] þæt ðu glæd to me cume'. From the Latin 'Te precor uica peruica [...] ut ea mihi prestes'.

[32] 'Gemyne ðu, Mucgwyrt'; 'Gemyne þu, Mægðe'. For further discussion on direct addresses towards these herbs, see Marie Nelson and Caroline Dennis, 'Nine Herbs Charm', *Germanic Notes and Reviews*, 38 (2007), 5–10.

[33] 'Ond þu Wegbrade, wyrta modor, | eastan op[e]ne, innan mihtigu'.

The address to Attorlaðe also presumes that the herb's healing power is already with the speaker in the present moment, 'now'. The supplicant asks not that the herb come to join the speaker from another location, as in the *Herbarium*, but rather to act in the present location, at once: 'Put to flight now, Attorlaðe, the lesser [and] the greater' (l. 21).[34]

Defined broadly, apostrophe and personification are unquestionably prominent features in each of these particular incantations.[35] In both the Latin-derived and vernacular incantations, the herbs are addressed directly, their capacity to hear and discern human speech anthropomorphically implied. When one considers the wider corpus of Old English literature, it stands to reason that vernacular remedies would incorporate these devices and that Latin remedies sharing similar tropes would be selected for inclusion. For instance, apostrophe is a natural corollary to prosopopoeia, long recognized as 'a recurrent favorite in the Old English poetic',[36] and a device that is especially pronounced in the Old English riddles as a way for the inanimate characters to speak. Its inverse, speech to characters through apostrophe, would likely have been a natural and compelling mode of persuasion in Anglo-Saxon England.[37] To the extent that the incantations assume sentient auditors capable of comprehending human speech, all of these addresses towards herbs employ some degree of personification, with the marked difference that the personified addressee is presumed present in the *Lacnunga* but not so in the *Herbarium*.

The seemingly illogical request that *herba ricinum* from the Latinate *Herbarium* 'be present' when presumably the practitioner is already in the act of harvesting the herbs can be explained through the various senses of apostrophe and personification within medieval rhetorical tradition. As defined in the

---

[34] 'Fleoh þu nu Attorlaðe seo læsse ða maran'.

[35] Cf. *American Heritage Dictionary*, 5th edn (New York: Random House), s.v., 'apostrophe': 'the direct address of an absent or imaginary person or of a personified abstraction'. As will be discussed in more depth below, the extent of personification varies considerably.

[36] Jackson J. Campbell, 'Rhetoric in Old English Literature: Adaptation of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 173–97 (p. 194).

[37] Cf. Paxson who, building from De Man, explains that 'rhetorical apostrophe engenders a prosopopoeia because the linguistic structure of the apostrophic utterance assumes or predicates a responsive human consciousness in inanimate objects': James J. Paxson, *The Poetics of Personification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 52.

Rhetorica ad Herennium,[38] personification (*Conformatio*) as a figure of thought had more than one sense:

> Personification consists in representing an absent person as present, or in making a mute thing or one lacking form articulate, and attributing to it a definite form and a language or a certain behaviour appropriate to its character.[39]

The *Herbarium*'s direct address, then, implies the first and primary of these senses, representing an absent person as present, whereas the Old English 'Nine Herbs Charm' already assumes the hearer's presence. Here the Latin charm, as might be expected, adheres more closely to the rhetorical practices of classical texts.

A similar pattern holds with apostrophe. While the incantation of the 'Nine Herbs Charm' employs apostrophe in the more general sense of direct address, the *Herbarium* reflects the more specialized sense of supplication reflected in such texts as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: 'Apostrophe [*Exclamatio*] is the figure which expresses grief or indignation by means of an address to some man or city or place or object'.[40] By focusing more directly on the speaker's needs, the speaker of the *Herbarium*'s incantations comes much closer to this state of grief or indignation than the implied speaker of the 'Nine Herbs Charm'. Where the *Herbarium* remedies focus on bringing the herb's spirits from another realm to that of the troubled speaker, the 'Nine Herbs Charm' appeals to shared positive memories between the speaker and herbs regarding distinctly earthly events. Thus, in a manner more consistent with classical apostrophe and personification, the direct addresses in the *Herbarium* place the speaker explicitly in the role of plaintiff or supplicant, with the current need and desired outcome to be granted by the herb (in its abstract and distant form) given primary importance.

---

[38] [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954). As Steen notes, there is 'no direct evidence' that such texts circulated in Anglo-Saxon England (Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity*, p. 9). However, several scholars have noted the presence of rhetorical devices described in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in Anglo-Saxon writing. See, for instance, Campbell, 'Rhetoric in Old English Literature', p. 187. For further discussion of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, see essays by Woods and Murphy, this volume.

[39] 'Conformatio est cum aliqua quae non adest persona confingitur quasi adsit, aut cum res muta aut informis fit eloquens, et forma ei et oratio adtribuitur ad dignitatem adcommodata aut actio quaedam': [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Caplan, pp. 398–99.

[40] 'Exclamatio est quae conficit significationem doloris aut indignationis alicuius per hominis aut urbis aut loci aut rei cuiuspiam conpellationem': [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Caplan, pp. 282–83.

In fact, the implication of this more supernatural audience has led some scholars (e.g. Dendle) to refer to these incantations as 'prayers',[41] and this sense of supplication to a higher power is specifically reinforced in the final line of the incantation to Periwinkle, which invokes the 'name of God almighty, who bade you to be born'.[42] The plant is reminded of its indebtedness to God and thus in turn to the speaker, who is invoking God's name. The reminders in the 'Nine Herbs Charm', however, operate on very different assumptions. Rather than invoking God's past deeds, the speaker appeals to the herb's *own* past deeds, relating — or in some cases merely alluding to — stories of past power in the hopes of rekindling it for the future. More than a supplication, the incantations of the 'Nine Herbs Charm' invoke a shared sense of honour and duty, appealing to the herbs as heroic comrades.

Mugwort and Maythe are both reminded of specific accomplishments (and even hint at the herbs' own rhetorical skills in making them known), events alluded to but not described. Further, both, in typical Germanic heroic fashion,[43] draw attention to the herbs' past feats. Mugwort is reminded of a public declamation as follows:

> Remember, Mugwort, what you declared,
> what you brought about at Regenmelde. (ll. 1–2)[44]

The phraseology is paralleled by the reminder to Maythe of a similar declamation:

> Remember, Maythe, what you declared,
> what you finished at Alorforda. (ll. 23–24)[45]

---

[41] Peter Dendle, 'Plants in the Early Medieval Cosmos: Herbs, Divine Potency, and the *Scala natura*', in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*, ed. by Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 47–59. Referring to Chapter 79, D'Aronco identifies the incantation as a *precatio*: D'Aronco, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy', p. 143.

[42] 'naman ælmihtiges Godes se þe het beon acenned'. From the Latin 'nomen omnipotentis Dei qui te iussit nasci'.

[43] Being remembered for valour and bravery was central to the heroic ethos of the Germanic *comitatus*. When Beowulf appeals to the coastguard for an audience with Hygelac, for instance, he rests his argument in part on the place of his own father, Ecgþeow, in public memory: 'Each of wise men throughout the world continue to remember him'; 'hine gearwe geman | witena welhwylc wide geond eorþan' (*Beowulf*, ll. 267–68). *Klaeber's Beowulf*, ed. by R. D. Fulk, Robert Bjork, and John D. Niles, 4th edn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

[44] 'Gemyne ðu, Mucgwyrt, hwæt þu ameldodest, | hwæt þu renadest æt Regenmelde'.

[45] 'Gemyne þu, Mægðe, hwæt þu ameldodest, | hwæt ðu geændadest æt Alorforda'.

Way-broad, however, is reminded not of a specific event but of more general past virtues:

over you carts creaked, over you queens rode,
over you brides trampled, over you bulls snorted;
you withstood and crashed against all then. (ll. 7–9)[46]

Significantly, the reader or user of the charm is reminded of the origins of the plants as a god's creation later in the 'Nine Herbs Charm', the herbs first created through the higher power of Woden and later indebted to Christ.[47] Thus, presumably the incantation *could* have appealed to the creator of these herbs in a parallel fashion to that seen in the *Herbarium*, but did not. The difference is thus not solely due to differing belief systems in that regard. Instead, the more significant difference lies in what rhetorical strategy is believed most convincing to the *plants*. The Latin-derived text appeals to the herb's shared sense of indebtedness to a Christian God, where the Old English text appeals to the herbs' sense of duty and heroism based on their *own* inherent strengths. There is an implicit hierarchy in the Latin text as well; by addressing the plant 'in God's name', the speaker asserts dominance over the plant. The speaker of the 'Nine Herbs Charm' shares a similar goal of enlisting the plant's healing power, but does so by appealing to it as a fellow, and possibly even superior, heroic comrade.[48]

The two types of address and subsequent methods of persuasion reflect distinct cultural differences between Latinate and Germanic modes of expression and conceptions of herbal healing.[49] Yet, as different as the two types of direct address are in these respective texts, their juxtaposition within a single manuscript devoted to healing practice nonetheless suggests that these variant strains of thought were not seen as competing or mutually exclusive. As with many aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, such variation in the rhetorical devices employed in the persuasion of plants reflects the productive syncresis of Germanic and Latinate influences, a pattern that becomes even more pronounced when we look at patterns of repetition.

---

[46] 'ofer ðy cræte curran, ofer ðy cwene reodan, | ofer ðy bryde bryo- / dedon, ofer þe fearras fnærdon; | eallum þu þon wiðstode ⁊ wiðstunedest'.

[47] 'the wise lord shaped these plants'; 'þa wyrte gesceop witig drihten' (l. 37).

[48] It is important to note, though, that while the plant is anthropomorphized to the point of presumably hearing, the incantation does not completely anthropomorphize the herbs. The implication is less an outright personification of the herb than a reciprocal *comitatus* relationship that accommodates both plants and people. The plants are implied to be sentient, to be sure, even to have 'declared' in the past, which would suggest the capacity for communication. Yet the plants are very clearly called upon with full regard for their plant-like qualities. This is most clear in the Way-broad invocation, which refers to the herb's growing location in pathways. Not only might the incantation 'illustrate the resilience of the plantain', but it could also 'constitute an aetiological tale accounting for the plantain's (*Plantago major* L.) broad leaves and peripherally flat appearances': *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers*, ed. by Pettit, p. 127. Plantain's tendency to grow along roadsides has been well documented (see ibid.), lending credence to the charmer's reminder of its time spent beneath chariots.

[49] As Louise Bishop has observed, 'rhetoric and cosmos run in parallel not only with each

Anaphora and Chiasmus

As with apostrophe and personification, the shared uses of anaphora and, to a lesser extent, chiasmus in the *Lacnunga* and *Herbarium* reveal distinct patterns of difference. Anaphora is much more pronounced in the 'Nine Herbs Charm' of the *Lacnunga*, a pattern consistent with the great appeal that such patterns of structural repetition seem to have had for the Anglo-Saxons more generally. Bede, for example, privileges anaphora with its own entry, defining the device as 'when the same utterance is repeated two or more times at the beginnings of verses'.[50] The 'Nine Herbs Charm' relies heavily on anaphora at several points, but especially so during the incantations directed towards the herbs themselves. A significant effect of the rhetorical device of anaphora is to reinforce through repetition and rhythm the concepts being parallelled.

Through this structuring device, the incantations of the 'Nine Herbs Charm' underscore the inherent power of the herbs themselves. The 'you have power against' ('þu miht wið') sequence directed towards Mugwort, for instance, highlights the power the herb has over foes:

> **You have power against** three and against thirty,
> **You have power against** poison and against flying disease,
> **You have power against** the loathsome one that travels throughout the land.
> (ll. 4–6; emphasis mine)[51]

---

other, but with healing words': Bishop, *Words, Stone, and Herbs*, p. 85.

[50] 'cum eadem dictio bis sepiusve per principia versuum repetitur': Bede, *Libri II De Arte Metrica et De Schematibus et Tropis (The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric)*, ed. and trans by Calvin B. Kendall (Saarbruücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991), pp. 172–73.

[51] '**ðu miht wið** *III* and wið *XXX*, | **þu miht wiþ** attre and wið onflyge, | **þu miht wiþ** þa[m] laþan ðe geond lond færð'.

The 'over you' ('ofer ðy') frame directed towards Way-broad similarly reinforces the herb's particular strengths, in this case the power to withstand and persevere:

> **Over you** carts creaked, **over you** women rode,
> **Over you** brides trampled, **over you** bulls snorted.
> (ll. 9–10; emphasis mine)[52]

The addresses to both Mugwort and Maythe also include repetition of 'what you' ('hwæt þu') in reinforcing the importance of the previously discussed declaration, in both cases linking the *b* half-lines and subsequent *a* half-lines structurally, first in the incantation to Mugwort:

> **what you** declared,
> **what you** brought about. (ll. 1–2)[53]

The frame is repeated in the incantation to Maythe:

> **what you** declared,
> **what you** brought to an end. (ll. 23–24)[54]

In both frames these herbs' respective accomplishments are the elements highlighted through the structure of anaphora.

The repetition in the address to Attorlaðe is chiastic rather than anaphoric, but it accomplishes a similar function by employing rhetorical structuring devices to foreground the herb's inherent power. As with the 'what you' frame, the device serves to link the *b* half-line with the following *a* half-line:

> Put to flight now, Attorlaðe **the lesser, the greater**,
> **the greater, the lesser** until there is a cure for them both.
> (ll. 21–22; emphasis mine)[55]

As Pettit observes, the lines are 'metrically problematic, there being no alliteration in this, the traditional, arrangement' and are also 'difficult to understand, clearly being to some extent deliberately riddling'.[56] The consensus view (reflected in Pettit's rendering) is that 'greater' and 'lesser' here refer to two different types of Attorlaðe and their impact on greater and lesser poisons.[57] Once again, the structuring device highlights the innate power of the herbs against their respective maladies.

---

[52] '**ofer ðy** cræte curran, **ofer ðe** cwene reodan, | **ofer ðy** bryde bryo / dedon, **ofer þy** fearras fnærdon'.

[53] '**hwæt þu** ameldodest, | **hwæt þu** renadest'.

[54] '**hwæt þu** ameldodest, | **hwæt ðu** geændadest'.

[55] 'Fleoh þu nu Attorlaðe **seo læsse ða maran**. | **seo mare þa læssan**, oððæt him beigra bot sy'.

[56] *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers*, ed. by Pettit, p. 132.

While structural repetition is also a feature of the *Herbarium* incantations, these devices emphasize very different elements. Rather than reinforcing the herbs' inherent strengths, these incantations use anaphora instead to foreground the desired outcomes. As with the previously discussed device of apostrophe, the anaphoric structure of the Latinate charm highlights the practitioner's role as supplicant rather than as colleague or ally. The Old English rendering of the incantation to Ricinum adds a structural repetition to the Old English not present in the Latin, through 'that you' ('þæt þu'):

> I ask
> **that you** be present at my songs and
> **that you** turn aside hail and lightning flashes. (emphasis mine)[58]

Structural repetition works similarly in the persuasive speech directed toward Periwinkle, again highlighting the desired outcomes:

> **that you** come to me happy with your strengths blooming,
> **that you** prepare me
> **that I** may be shielded and always lucky and unharmed by poisons and by anger.
> (emphasis and line breaks mine)[59]

Thus, anaphoric repetition structurally continues the same pattern established by the opening direct address. The Germanic incantations of the 'Nine Herbs Charm' appeal to herbs as collaborators and highlight through repetition the worldly deeds of the already sentient herbs. In contrast, the Latin-derived incantations appeal to the herbs as (initially) absent potential benefactors and highlight through repetition the wishes of the speaker. It is a broadened understanding of metonymy in terms of oral traditional and performance contexts, however, that meaningfully ties all of these rhetorical patterns together.

---

[57] The sense in Pettit's rendering is thus: 'Attorlaðe the lesser, put to flight the greater poison; Attorlaðe the greater, put to flight the lesser poison'.

[58] 'Ic bidde | **þæt þu** ætsy minum sangum 7 | **þæt ðu** awende hagoles 7 ligræsceas'.

[59] '**þæt ðu** glæd to me cume mid þinum mægenum blowende, | **þæt ðu** me gegearwie | **þæt ic** sy gescyld 7 symle gesælig 7 ungedered fram attrum 7 fram yrsunge'.

Metonymy and 'Metonymic Referentiality'

Even narrowly defined as a specialized rhetorical trope, metonymy can be seen as a distinctive feature of the incantations in both collections.[60] The *Herbarium*'s incantation to Periwinkle asks the herb to come with its 'strengths blooming' ('mægnum blowende'), strengths metonymically representing the possessor of strength, the blooming herb. In the repeated formulaic phrase in the 'Nine Herbs Charm', 'against the loathsome one that travels throughout the land' (ll. 6, 13, 20),[61] the 'loathsome one' refers not just to one ailment but metonymically references all maladies against which the herb is believed efficacious.

Viewed within the larger healing context, however, the metonymic referentiality of the more Germanically resonant 'Nine Herbs Charm' reaches well beyond its immediate context and activates meaning within multiple registers. Noting the 'rhetorical persistence of traditional forms', John Miles Foley offers a way of understanding metonymy within distinctly oral traditional contexts, one in which the rhetorical device of metonymy is aligned with 'the paratactic, additive impulse as a primary pattern in oral tradition'.[62] Rather than viewing rhetoric as the exclusive domain of classical learning and literate culture, he offers a tradition-dependent and more culturally relative way of understanding such devices as metonymy and anaphora to interpret oral and oral-derived verbal art more fully and productively. This approach is especially fruitful for the genre of medieval charms. While these works survive to us only in manuscript form, they were explicitly intended for oral performance and, further, were doubtless connected to an ambient oral tradition.[63]

---

[60] The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for instance, defines metonymy (*Denominatio*) as follows: 'Denominatio est quae ab rebus propinquis et finitimis trahit orationem qua possit intellegi res quae non suo vocabulo sit appellata', such as 'aut instrumento dominum' ('Metonymy is that which draws from near and adjoining things an expression by which it is possible to understand the thing which is called forth not by its own name', such as 'the instrument for the possessor'): [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Caplan, pp. 334–35.

[61] 'wið þa laþan ðe geond lond færð'. While the first two instances occur within the direct addresses towards Mugwort and Way-broad, the example at line 20 does not appear in an incantation directed towards the herb but in this instance is used to describe the herb Stiðe's power.

[62] John Miles Foley, *Singer of Tales in Performance* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1995), p. 13.

[63] On the oral transmission of medieval English charms, see, for instance, Stephen Pollington, *Leechcraft: Early English Charms, Plantlore, and Healing* (Little Downham: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2000) and Anne Van Arsdall, *Medieval Herbal Remedies: The Old English Herbarium*

Foley's concept of traditional metonymy also involves a rethinking of anaphora in terms of a broader generic and cultural context:

> As a compositional figure, it [metonymy] underlies the formation and maintenance of the idiom at the level of both generalized structure and specific sequences. From the point of view of metonymic referentiality, each occurrence of any traditional structure would constitute a figure of anaphora, and thus a kind of parallelism, since it would have primary reference not to spatially or temporally contiguous occurrences but to the immanent meaning keyed in performance.[64]

Viewed from this angle, the rhetorical force of 'against the loathsome one which travels throughout the land' connects not only lines 6, 13, and 20 within this particular incantation, but it also links the herb's power with other herbs in the healing tradition more broadly. Utilizing very similar phraseology, the 'Journey Charm', for instance, describes a remedy effective for 'all evil which goes in to the land' (l. 5: 'eal þæt lað þe in to land fare'). The force of this formulaic language reaches even beyond verse incantations to prose remedies as well. For instance, a remedy for travelers found in the *Leechbook* suggests placing mugwort in one's hand or shoe 'against much going over land'.[65]

Moving to a more thematic level of this traditional metonymy, the 'Nine Herbs Charm', like numerous Old English charms, indexes a larger heroic tradition that further intensifies the power of the herb as a healing force. Taking into account this larger traditional background gives meaning and purpose to the commands to 'remember' in the direct addresses discussed above. As Judith A. Vaughan-Sterling observes, the 'hearkening back' to unspecific feats in the incantations directed towards mugwort and other herbs follows a similar pattern to the poem's later references to Germanic mythology and legend in the allusion to Woden and even Christ, in effect structurally and rhetorically linking the herbs' past accomplishments with heroic, even mythic, feats.[66] Such

---

and Anglo-Saxon Medicine (New York: Routledge, 2002). Texts intended for oral performance, such as incantations in these healing charms, are vital to our understanding of oral tradition and literate culture in the medieval world. On rhetorical treatises and performance, see further Marjorie Curry Woods, this volume. Martin Camargo's work on performance and rhetoric has productively demonstrated the somewhat fluid relationship of written record to oral performance: Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers'.

[64] Foley, *Singer of Tales in Performance*, p. 13.

[65] 'wiþ miclum gonge ofer land'. See also Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 133.

[66] Judith A. Vaughan-Sterling, 'The Anglo-Saxon "Metrical Charms": Poetry as Ritual', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 82 (1983), 186–200 (p. 189).

linkages to heroic registers are employed throughout the Old English charms, such as a charm against a swarm in CCCC, MS 41 where the bees are addressed as *sigewif*, literally 'victory women', or even more directly in the charm 'Against a Sudden Stitch' ('Wið Færstice'), where the pain of elfshot is likened to a spear and the practitioner vows to send a spear back in retaliation.

While mythic heroic contexts are invoked with some regularity in the Latin-derived *Herbarium*, such allusions are situated very differently, and they do not appear in either of the incantations directed towards plants. For instance, the entry immediately above *ricinum*, that for *achillea*, reminds readers (presumably practitioners) that Achilles used the herb to cure wounds (entry 175), and an entry for mugwort (entry 13) recounts that Chiron the centaur once made a remedy from the herb and that he named the plant for Diana, the Roman equivalent of Artemis. In both cases the legendary stories function etiologically, explaining the herb's Latin names, *achillea* and *artemisia*.

This linkage in the 'Nine Herbs Charm' between herbal healing and larger heroic contexts is crucial to understanding how seemingly similar rhetorical devices are fundamentally different in that text from their usages in the *Herbarium*. The Germanic mode of healing as reflected in the 'Nine Herbs Charm' assumes a collaborative relationship between practitioner and herb, heroic allies armed against a host of ailments. In keeping with this healing philosophy, the direct addresses remind the herbs of past heroic exploits, and the structural patterning serves to highlight heroic strengths. In contrast, the direct addresses and structural patterning within the two incantations of the *Herbarium* imply a very different type of relationship, that of a supplicant appealing to a distant and supernatural force for specific and much-needed aid.

These shared features used to achieve such different rhetorical ends attest to the multilayered and complex world of Anglo-Saxon healing. The compilers of the *Herbarium* were selective in what they chose for inclusion. As Maria Amalia D'Aronco notes, the criteria for inclusion 'are still unclear',[67] but it seems that a certain degree of compatibility with parallel Germanic medicine must have played at least a small part. The process was one of 'merging and adaptation' rather than of slavish translation.[68] This more nuanced understanding of Anglo-Saxon healing effectively breaks down any misconceptions that the Old English *Herbarium* should be classified as 'literary' because it derives from Latin as opposed to vernacular and 'oral' *Lacnunga* remedies. As Van Arsdall explains, the *Herbarium of Pseudo-Apuleius* 'crossed the English Channel in Latin probably well before the reign of King Alfred and circulated in Anglo-Saxon England', and with this text came a tradition of healing that 'was disseminated orally and in writing'. So by the period when the compilation that we now have was written down, Latinate 'charms, incantations, and magic, as well as written texts' were already very much a part of the Anglo-Saxon healing tradition 'and had been for quite some time'.[69] Sauer suggests that, while the usual pattern was for Old English formations to be translated from the Latin, there is evidence that in some cases the Old English plant-names instead influenced the Latin. *Venenifuga*, for instance, may actually be a translation of *attor-laþe*, 'and not the other way round'.[70] This possibility of mutual influence on something as fundamental as plant names suggests a vibrant exchange between Latinate and vernacular medical learning.

---

[67] D'Aronco, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy', p. 134.

[68] D'Aronco, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy', p. 144.

The nature of the comparisons to be made between these different modes of speech teach us a great deal about the rewards of broadening our scope to encompass 'both oral and written discourse' across 'a broader range of social practices'.[71] At a local level, we can appreciate the subtle nuances underlying the particular incantations of entries 176 and 179 of the Old English *Herbarium* and the 'Nine Herbs Charm' of the *Lacnunga*. More importantly, we come to a richer understanding of the Anglo-Saxon healing tradition, one flexible enough to simultaneously and seamlessly accommodate multiple healing and linguistic registers, thus revealing precisely the kind of rhetorical complexity that Martin Camargo has long led us to expect of the medieval world.[72]

---

[69] Van Arsdall, *Medieval Herbal Remedies*, p. 74.

[70] Sauer, 'The Morphology of Old English Plant-Names', p. 171.

[71] Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric', p. 22.

[72] I am tremendously grateful to a number of individuals for sharing their valuable insights and suggestions during the preparation of this essay, most especially Denise Stodola, Georgiana Donavin, Marjorie Curry Woods, Scott Garner, James J. Murphy, Scott Newstok, Deborah A. Oosterhouse, and Christopher Peterson. Any errors, of course, remain entirely my own. Most of all, I would like to express my thanks to Martin Camargo for almost twenty years of insight into the 'state of medieval studies at two different universities'. See Martin Camargo, 'The State of Medieval Studies: A Tale of Two Universities', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 27 (2005), 239–47 (p. 239). I was fortunate to know Martin first as a teacher and mentor at the University of Missouri during my graduate work from 1995 to 1999 and even more so later when he became chair of the English Department at the University of Illinois, where I taught until 2009. I am ever grateful for his continuing mentorship and friendship.

PERFORMING DIDO

Marjorie Curry Woods*

Martin Camargo's pioneering work in exploring the performance potential of sample compositions in rhetorical manuals has encouraged scholars to look for clues to how individual passages in other kinds of classroom texts may have been performed.[1] This essay examines specific instructions for performing two famous and emotional speeches by Dido,

---

* I am grateful to my fellow contributors Rita Copeland, Karin Margareta Fredborg, Lori Garner, and John O. Ward for excellent advice and suggestions, and to our editors, Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, for careful attention and insightful recommendations, as well as ensuring that this labour of love reached fruition.

[1] Martin Camargo, 'Medieval Rhetoric Delivers; or, Where Chaucer Learned How to Act', *New Medieval Literatures*, 9 (2007), 41–62; and Martin Camargo, 'Epistolary Declamation: Performing Model Letters in Medieval English Classrooms', in *Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing*, ed. by Linda C. Mitchell and Susan Green (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 2008). See also Martin Camargo, 'Special Delivery: Were Medieval Letter Writers Trained in Performance?', in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 173–89. Earlier collected essays may be found in Martin Camargo, *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

Marjorie Curry Woods is the June and Roland Blumberg Centennial Professor of English, Professor of Comparative Literature, and University Distinguished Teaching Professor at the University of Texas at Austin, where she has taught since 1991. She has published many articles, as well as two books: *An Early Commentary on the 'Poetria nova' of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (1986) and *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the 'Poetria nova' across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (2010), which received the book award of the Rhetoric Society of America. She is currently completing *Weeping for Dido: The Teaching of Classical Texts in the Middle Ages*, which examines rhetoric, gender, and emotion in the medieval classroom

---

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)
pp. 253–265 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107458

Queen of Carthage, in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The instructions do not appear in a manuscript of the *Aeneid* itself, however. Rather, they occur — along with excerpts from two speeches in other texts spoken by men — as part of a rare but very long gloss in a fifteenth-century manuscript of a classical rhetorical treatise. This work, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, long thought to have been written by Cicero,[2] has survived in hundreds of manuscripts and was widely read during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.[3] The gloss shows us that speeches from classical texts were performed, and that the instructions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* needed to be supplemented in order for a performer to convey appropriately the emotional effect of Dido's words.

The gloss is found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 3147 (hereafter ÖNB 3147), dated 1469, a collection of rhetorical texts including the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[4] The other works in the manuscript include an unglossed copy of Cicero's *De inventione*, separate commentaries on both *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,[5] one of Cicero's speeches,[6] and other related material. It was, at least later, part of the holdings of the university library.[7]

---

[2] [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954). Hereafter cited as *Ad Her.* Text and translation are quoted from this edition.

[3] For the tradition and influence of this text and a work often copied with it, Cicero's *De inventione*, see John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 255; Ruth Taylor-Briggs, 'Reading between the Lines: The Textual History and Manuscript Transmission of Cicero's Rhetorical Works', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 77–108 (p. 77 and p. 97); and Gian Carlo Alessio, 'The Rhetorical Juvenilia of Cicero and the *Artes dictaminis*', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 335–64 (p. 335). On the treatment of emotion in *De inventione* and some of the commentaries on it, see the essay by Rita Copeland in this volume.

[4] On ÖNB 3147, see *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Biblioteca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, ed. by W. von Hartel and Heinrich von Zeissberg, 10 vols (Wien: Gerold, 1864–99), II, 214–15; and Franz Unterkircher, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich*, ed. by Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, 8 vols (Wien: Böhlau in Kommission, 1969–89?), III, 66. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is on folios 56^{r}–111^{v}.

[5] John O. Ward has identified the separate commentaries as by a 'Magister Gulielmus (William of Champeaux) vel discipulus eiusdem'; see John O. Ward, 'The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Commentaries and Contexts', in *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, ed. by Cox and Ward, pp. 3–76 (p. 75).

[6] *Pro Lege Manilia* not the *Pro Milone* quoted in the gloss.

[7] 'Univ. 956' (*Tabulae codicum*, ed. by von Hartel and von Zeissberg, II, 215). The

In book three of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* the author discusses 'pronuntiatio' ('Delivery' or 'Performance'), that is, how to perform speeches. It is the last of the five canons (parts) of rhetoric.[8] One important aspect of delivery according to this text is 'mollitudo vocis', which Harry Caplan translates as 'flexibility of the voice', or the shaping of vocal delivery for a specific effect. There are three main types: 'sermo', which Caplan translates as 'Conversational Tone'; 'contentio', or 'Tone of Debate'; and 'amplificatio', or 'Tone of Amplification'.[9] The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* goes through the subdivisions of each concept, describing and giving instructions for how it should be performed.[10]

The gloss under discussion is written in the margins of this passage across a single folio opening, 81^{v}–82^{r}. While attention in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is evenly divided among the three ways to shape the voice, the gloss refers only to the third: emotional *amplificatio*. According to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 'The Tone of Amplification either rouses the hearer to wrath or moves him to pity'.[11]

Each of the two types of *amplificatio* is associated with one of these two emotions. The first, 'cohortatio', which Caplan translates as 'the Hortatory Tone', or 'Exhortation', is what arouses 'iracundia': 'The Hortatory, by amplifying some fault, incites the hearer to indignation'.[12] Here Caplan translates 'iracundia' as 'indignation', whereas earlier he translated it as 'wrath'. Both of these translations are correct, but 'indignation' is more appropriate for the instruc-

---

manuscript is not included among the extant holdings from the Arts Faculty listed in *Bücher aus der mittelalterlichen Universität Wien und ihrem Umfeld*, <http://www.onb.ac.at/sammlungen/hschrift/kataloge/universitaet/Artistenfakultaet.htm>, [accessed 6 October 2012].

[8] The others, treated earlier in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, are invention ('inventio'), disposition or arrangement ('dispositio'), style ('elocutio'), and memory ('memoria'). *Pronuntiatio* is also discussed by John Ward at the end of his essay in this volume, where he notes that an early commentary on *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (of which an edition is in progress) mentions Book 4 of the *Aeneid* in the discussion of *pronuntiatio*.

[9] *Ad Her.* 3.23.13.

[10] There are altogether eight subdivisions of tone; those of amplification, discussed in more detail here, comprise the final two. The first six include the following: 'Conversational tone comprises four kinds: the Dignified, the Explicative, the Narrative, and the Facetious [...]. In the Tone of Debate are distinguishable the Sustained and the Broken' ('Sermo dividitur in partes quattuor: dignitatem, demonstrationem, narrationem, iocationem [...]. Contentio dividitur in continuationem et in distributionem') (*Ad Her.* 3.13.23).

[11] 'Amplificatio est oratio quae aut in iracundiam inducit, aut ad misericordiam trahit auditoris animum' (*Ad Her.* 3.13.23).

[12] 'Cohortatio est oratio quae aliquod peccatum amplificans auditorem ad iracundiam adducit' (*Ad Her.* 3.13.24).

tions given later in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* for vocal delivery of *cohortatio*: 'For the Hortatory Tone of Amplification we shall use a very thin-toned voice, moderate loudness, an even flow of sound, frequent modulations, and the utmost speed'.[13]

The second kind of 'amplificatio' is 'conquestio', 'The Pathetic Tone', or 'Lament': 'The Pathetic, by amplifying misfortunes, wins the hearer over to pity'.[14] The instructions for generating pity are as follows: 'For the Pathetic Tone of Amplification we shall use a restrained voice, deep tone, frequent intermissions, long pauses, and marked changes'.[15]

Here is a summary of the gloss on the two kinds of emotional 'amplificatio':

1. First the commentator quotes, in its entirety — but without identifying author, text, or speaker — Dido's most famous speech in the *Aeneid*, when she accosts her lover Aeneas after learning that he has been secretly planning to leave her. Afterwards, the commentator identifies it as an example of 'conquestio' (a speech in the 'Pathetic Tone', or 'Lament'); that is, it is written in the kind of language meant to evoke pity, and describes how to perform it in terms very different from those in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

2. Again without identification, the commentator quotes all of Dido's next, more frenzied speech after Aeneas's unsatisfactory response. This one is identified as a 'cohortatio' (a speech in the 'Hortatory Tone', or 'Exhortation'), meant to generate 'iracundia' ('wrath' or 'indignation'), again with specific instructions for performance that do not agree with those in the text of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

3. The commentator does identify the author and source of his next quotation, an excerpt from Cicero's *Pro Milone*, and calls it another 'Lament'. It is an extended passage in the 'Pathetic Tone' in which Cicero pleads for clemency for his client and elaborates on his own emotional connection with him. No added instructions for delivery are provided.

4. Finally, the commentator identifies the author and source of another excerpt, this one much shorter, from a speech in Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, in which

---

[13] 'In amplificationibus cum cohortatione utemur voce adtenuatissima, clamore leni, sono aequabili, commutationibus crebris, maxima celeritate' (*Ad Her.* 3.14.25).

[14] 'Conquestio est oratio quae incommodorum amplificatione animum auditoris ad misericordiam perducit' (*Ad Her.* 3.13.24).

[15] 'In conquestione utemur voce depressa, inclinato sono, crebris intervallis, longis spatiis, magnis commutationibus' (*Ad Her.* 3.14.25).

> King Abdurbal pleads with the Roman Senate for help in regaining his kingdom. This one is also called a 'Lament', and, as with the excerpt from Cicero, no added instructions for delivery are provided. This excerpt and the previous one together occupy about as much of the margin as one of Dido's speeches.

Keeping this summary in mind, let us look at the gloss in more detail.

First, Dido's pain and despair at learning — not from her lover, Aeneas himself, but via rumour — that he is making plans to leave her and sail away. The lines of verse are written without breaks, but line separation is clearly noted, either by punctuation (including slashes) or by capital letters, which are retained here to demonstrate the care with which the speech is reproduced in the gloss:[16]

> Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nephas tacitusque mea discedere[t] terra. Nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam. Nec moritura tenet c<rudeli> funere dido / Quin etiam yberno molliris sidere classem Et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum. Crudelis / Quid si non arua aliena domos que Ignotas peteres et Troia antiqua maneret / Troia per vndosum peteretur classibus equor? Mene fugis per ego has lacrimas dextram que [=dextramque] tuam[que][17] Per conubia nostra per inceptos ymeneos / si bene quid de te merui fuit aut tibi quicquam. Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam Oro si quis adhuc precibus locus exue mentem. Te propter libice gentes numadum que [=nomadumque] que tiranni. Odere infensi tirii te propter eundem Extinctus pudor et qua sol<a> sidera adibam. Fama prior cui me moribundam deseris hospes. Hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.[18] Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset Ante fugam suboles si quis mihi paruulus aula Luderet Eneas qui te tamen ore referret. Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta uiderer.[19]

Before considering the instructions for the delivery of this speech in the gloss, I would suggest reading aloud Stanley Lombardo's translation, which is intended for performance and clearly evokes Dido's emotions:[20]

---

[16] Sections of the manuscript are not visible, and words supplied are in pointed brackets, letters to be deleted in square brackets. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. See below for the importance of the formatting (and hence the reason for putting the Latin transcription up in the text rather than in footnotes).

[17] The manuscript reads '-que' for 'te' at the end of *Aen.* 4.314; 4.315 is omitted.

[18] The commentator omits *Aen.* 4.325–26.

[19] *Aen.* 4.305–30; ÖNB 3147, fol. 81$^{\mathrm{v}}$. Cf. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

[20] Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2005).

> Traitor! Did you actually hope to conceal
> This crime and sneak away without telling me?
> Does our love mean nothing to you?
> Does it matter that we pledged ourselves to each other?
> Do you care that Dido will die a cruel death?
> Preparing to set sail in the dead of winter,
> Launching your ships into the teeth of this wind!
> How can you be so cruel? If Troy still stood,
> And you weren't searching for lands unknown,
> You wouldn't even sail for Troy in this weather!
> Is it me? Is it me you are fleeing?
> By these tears, I beg […], by your right hand,
> […] by our wedding vows,
> Still so fresh — If I have ever done anything
> To deserve your thanks, if there is anything in me
> That you found sweet, pity a house destined to fall,
> And if there is still room for prayers, I beg you,
> Please change your mind. It is because of you
> The Libyan warlords hate me and my own Tyrians
> Abhor me. Because of you that my honor
> Has been snuffed out, the good name I once had,
> My only hope to ascend to the stars.
> To what death do you leave me, dear guest
> (The only name I can call the man
> I once called husband?) For what should I wait?
> […] If you had at least left me with a child
> Before deserting me, if only a baby Aeneas
> Were playing in my hall to help me remember you,
> I wouldn't feel so completely used and abandoned.[21]

After quoting the speech, the commentator identifies the type of language and describes how to perform this specific example of it: 'Hec oratio est in conquestionem que non caret singultu suspiris et lacrimis' (This speech is put into the Pathetic Tone/a Lament, which does not lack catching of the breath, sighs, and sobs).[22]

From his 'Translator's Preface', pp. xii–xiii (p. xiii): 'the *Aeneid*, which although it is literary rather than oral epic was nonetheless intended to be recited, practically sung. Virgil's word music is more than mortal. […] I have continued the practices, which I began with the *Iliad*, of composing for performance as much as for the printed page and of using actual performances to shape the translation process'.

[21] Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Lombardo, 4.346–74.

[22] ÖNB 3147, fol. 81^{v}.

These instructions are appropriate for conveying Dido's heart-rending distress, but they disagree at every point with the instructions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* for delivering a 'conquestio': with 'a restrained voice, deep tone, frequent intermissions, long pauses, and marked changes'. It is impossible to imagine Dido's words performed with this latter type of delivery.

Dido's next speech is quoted in a new paragraph. Here again the beginnings of lines are marked, and the attentiveness of the commentator to the speech is reflected in the completeness and accuracy of the transcription:

> Nec tibi diua parens generis nec Dardanus autor. Perfide / sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens. Caucasus / Hircaneque admorunt ubera tigres Nam quid dissimulo aut que me ad mayora reseruo? Non[23] fletu ingemuit nostro non lumina flexit Non lacrimas uictus dedit aut miseratus amantem? Que quibus anteferam iam iam nec maxima iuno Nec Saturius hec oculis pater aspicit equis Nus<quam> tuta fides eiectum litore egentem Excepi et regni demens in parte locaui Amissam classem socios a morte re<duxi Heu> furiis incensa feror nunc augur Apollo Nunc licie sortes nunc et ioue missus ab ipso Interpres diuum fert horrida iussa per auras Scilicet his superis labor est ea cura quietos Sollicitat / nec te teneo nec tua dicta refello. Y sequere italiam uentis pete regna per undas Spero equidem mediis si quid pia numina possunt Suplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine dido. Sepe uocaturum sequar atris ignibus absens </ e>t cum frigida mors animam subduxerit artus Omnibus umbra locis adero dabis improbe poenas Audiam et hec manis veniet mihi fama <s>ub imos.[24]

In this speech Dido specifically refers to Aeneas's lack of pity for her in his speech immediately preceding; that is, her first speech has not accomplished its aim with him. Yet while the auditor here is technically Aeneas, the real audience includes readers and hearers of the text, in whom pity for Dido is almost universally aroused.[25]

In the version of this speech in the manuscript, some of the rhetorical questions in the standard edition have become statements,[26] almost parenthetical descriptions, and I have altered Lombardo's translation accordingly:

---

[23] The commentator has 'Non' for 'an' here and in the next sentence.

[24] *Aen*. 4.365–87; ÖNB 3147, fols 81^{v}–82^{r}.

[25] Cf. Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom', in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. by Carol Dana Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 284–94.

[26] See above, note 23.

> Your mother was no goddess, you faithless bastard,
> And you aren't descended from Dardanus, either.
> No, you were born out of flint in the Caucasus,
> And suckled by tigers in the wilds of Scythia.
> Ah, why should I hold back? [He did not sigh as I wept.
> He did not even look at me or give in to tears
> Or show any pity for the woman who loved him.]
> What shall I say first? What next? It has come to this —
> Neither great Juno nor the Saturnian Father
> Looks on these things with impartial eyes.
> Good faith is found nowhere. I took him in,
> Shipwrecked and destitute on my shore,
> And insanely shared my throne with him.
> I recovered his fleet and rescued his men.
> Oh, I am whirled by the Furies on burning winds!
> And now prophetic Apollo, now the Lycian oracles,
> Now the gods' herald, sent by Jupiter himself,
> Has come down through the rushing winds
> With dread commands! As if the gods lose sleep
> Over business like this! Go on, leave! I'm not
> Arguing with you any more. Sail to Italy,
> Find your kingdom overseas. But I hope,
> If there is any power in heaven, you will suck down
> Your punishment on rocks in mid-ocean,
> Calling Dido's name over and over. Gone
> I may be, but I'll pursue you with black fire,
> And when cold death has cloven body from soul,
> My ghost will be everywhere. You will pay,
> You despicable liar, and I will hear the news;
> Word will reach me in the deeps of hell.[27]

The commentator identifies this speech as an example of the other kind of vocal amplification, an Exhortation, and describes how it should be performed: 'Hec oratio est in cohortationem que non caret exercitatione et maledictione' (This speech is put into the Hortatory Tone/an Exhortation, which does not lack agitated movement and a curse).[28] As before, the description fits Dido's words, but it does not agree with the advice in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to use 'a very thin-toned voice, moderate loudness, an even flow of sound, frequent modulation'. Even more than with Dido's first speech, the 'hearer' who is most obviously aroused to passion is not the character to whom the speech is delivered, but the listener/reader or the other students.

---

[27] Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Lombardo, 4.419–48.

[28] ÖNB 3147, fol 82^{r}. There is a discussion of gestures appropriate to the different types of 'amplificatio' later in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.27.27), but these do not resonate in any particular with the short descriptions in the gloss of how either of Dido's speeches should be performed.

Dido's speeches literally needed no introduction, but in the next paragraph, when the commentator provides another example of *conquestio* (like Dido's first speech), he identifies not only the category of emotional language but also the author and title of the work from which it is an excerpt: 'Sequitur aliud in conquestionem tulius in clodium pro milone in oratione' (Following is something else put into the Pathetic Tone/a Lament: Cicero against Clodius in the speech on behalf of Milo).[29] Then he quotes an excerpt from Cicero's *Pro Milone*. Again, manuscript punctuation is retained here, and words or letters in brackets that are not explained in the notes are those rendered illegible by the binding and hence supplied:

> <Q>uid iam restat quid habeo quid dicam pro tuis in me meritis nisi ut eam fortunam quecumque erit tua dicam meam Non recuso non abnuo vosque oro obsecro <iudic>es[30] ut vestra beneficia que in me contulistis aut in huius salute augeatis aut uel meo[31] exitio occasura esse iubeatis. His vocibus non mouetur milo / Est enim <incre>dibili quoddam [= quodam] robore animi Exilium ibi esse putat ubi uirtuti non sit locus. Mortem e***narum requiem non penam / Sed hic ea mente ornatus qua ***is tandem mente milites eritis / Milonem eicietis et memoriam cuius retinebitis / et erit dignior in terris locus qui hanc uirtutem excipiat quam hic <qui> procreavit Vos uos appello, fortissimi milites, qui multum pro re publica <sanguinem>[32] effudistis vos centuriones vos<que>[33] milites Heu me miserum heu me infelicem quid respondebo liberis meis qui iuxta parentem alterum apellant Quid tibi quinte frater qui habes consortem temporum illorum e non potuisse milonis salutem per eos quos hic nostram remota sensum conseruare.[34]

---

[29] ÖNB 3147, fol 82^{r}.

[30] The manuscript reading is 'que *alites'.

[31] The reading is corrupt here; 'eiusdem' has become 'meo' or 'in eo'.

[32] For 'sanguinis' in the manuscript.

[33] The manuscript reads 'vos centuriones vos milites'.

[34] *Pro T. Annio Milone Oratio*, 36.100–37.102; ÖNB 3147, fol. 82^{r}. Cf. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Milone, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro, Philippicae I–XIV*, ed. by A. C. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), which version I append here because that in the gloss is so garbled and lacks almost all punctuation: 'Quid iam restat? quid habeo quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis nisi ut eam fortunam quaecumque erit tua ducam meam? Non abnuo, non

This excerpt differs more than either of Dido's speeches in detail (but not in emotional impact) from a modern edition,[35] probably because the commentator is quoting from memory, and prose is much harder to memorize word for word. Hence, the translation by Michael Grant quoted below has had to be altered in a number of places:

> What, then, can still be done? What [more can I say] in return for all your services to myself, except to demand an equal share of whatever fortune awaits you? I will not shrink from the challenge; it shall not be refused. And consequently I entreat you, gentlemen, crown all the kindnesses you have ever done me by acquitting my client today. Or note very clearly that, if you choose to destroy [me[36]] instead, all those kindnesses shall go for nothing.
>
> Milo, however, is not moved by all these [words]. His reserves of spiritual strength are unbelievable. There is no such thing as exile, he maintains, except where virtue finds no place; and death is a natural [rest] not a penalty. [But] he [is adorned with such a] disposition. [Y]ou, [soldiers], what will your disposition be? [Do you really propose to expel Milo, whose memory you will retain?[37]] And yet nowhere is there a land which should more readily harbour his noble personality than the very place which brought it into existence. Judges, you are [brave soldiers] who have spilt much blood in the defense of your country [...]. And to you also I appeal, centurions [and] soldiers. For a man and a citizen of invincible courage is facing his ordeal. [...]

recuso, vosque obsecro, iudices, ut vestra beneficia quae in me contulistis aut in huius salute augeatis aut in eiusdem exitio occasura esse videatis. His lacrimis non commovetur Milo — est quodam incredibili robore animi — exsilium ibi esse putat ubi virtuti non sit locus; mortem naturae finem esse, non poenam. Sit hic ea mente qua natus est: quid? vos, iudices, quo tandem eritis animo? Memoriam Milonis retinebitis, ipsum eicietis? Et erit dignior locus ullus in terris qui hanc virtutem excipiat quam hic qui procreavit? Vos, vos appello, fortissimi viri, qui multum pro re publica sanguinem effudistis; vos, inquam, in civis invicti periculo appello, centuriones, vosque, milites: vobis non modo inspectantibus sed etiam armatis et huis iudicio praesidentibus haec tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur, exterminabitur, proicietur? O me miserum, o me infelicem! Revocare tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos, ego te in patria per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid respondebo liberis meis qui te parentem alterum putant? quid tibi, Quinte frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum temporum illorum? mene non potuisse Milonis salutem tueri per eosdem per quos nostram ille servasset?'

[35] Cf. the difference between the version of the gloss and that in the edition of A. C. Clark quoted in the preceding note.

[36] Because of a misreading (see above, note 31), the reference to Milo's exile has become a reference to the speaker's.

[37] The clauses are reversed (with the subject retained in the first) in the gloss.

> What a desperate personal tragedy that would be for me! [...] For how, if that happened, could I ever reply to the questions of my children, who [call you] a second father? How could I answer you, my brother Quintus, who are now far away but were the partner of those dangerous hours? It would be shameful to have to explain that [...] I in my turn had failed to bring protection to Milo.[38]

The commentator adds no instructions for how to perform this speech, presumably because of the appropriateness of the description in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: with 'a restrained voice, deep tone, frequent intermissions, long pauses, and marked changes'.

Finally the commentator adds what he introduces as 'Alia conquestio in iugurtam' (Another Lament, for *Jugurtha*). In this passage, Sallust has King Adherbal address the Roman senators, begging them to support his claim to rule:

> Patres conscripti per uos per liberos vostros per maiestatem populi romani. subuenite mihi misero ite obuiam iniurie nolite pati regnum numidie quod vostrum est per scelus contabescere.[39]

Perhaps because the excerpt is so much shorter than that from Cicero, it differs only slightly from modern editions, as can be seen below in the translation of S. A. Handford:

> Members of the Senate, I conjure you, as you respect yourselves, your children [...], and the majesty of the Roman people — aid me in my affliction, set your faces against injustice, and do not let the kingdom of Numidia, which is your property, be <completely> destroyed by [...] criminal action.[40]

This is the end of the gloss. Again, there is no description of how to perform the excerpt, presumably because this one, too, fits the more restrained description in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of how to evoke pity. Both excerpts may have been chosen precisely because they do fit the instructions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: the sections immediately preceding and following the excerpt from *Pro Milone* and that preceding the excerpt (which comes at the end) from Adherbal's speech convey more intense personal emotion and might not have fit the instructions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

---

[38] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In Defense of Titus Annius Milo*, in *Selected Political Speeches of Cicero*, trans. by Michael Grant (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 36.100–37.102, pp. 275–76.

[39] ÖNB 3147, fol. 82^{r}; *Bellum Iugurtinum* 14.25. Cf. Gauis Sallustius Crispus, *Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum Fragmenta Selecta, Appendix Sallustiana*, ed. by L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). The gloss lacks two short phrases and concludes with an intensive form of the verb.

[40] *The Jugurthine War*, 14. Modified from Gauis Sallustius Crispus, *The Jugurthine War / The Conspiracy of Catiline*, trans. by S. A. Handford (London: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 51–52.

The first two speeches quoted by the commentator, those which are given additional instructions, are by a female character. The speeches by men that are quoted need no instruction that cannot be found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. But distinctions other than gender also apply. For example, while Virgil's overtly fictional speeches by Dido are attempts to sway another literary character with whom she has an intimate relationship, those by Cicero and Sallust purport to be more realistic public performances based on historical circumstances with the purpose of persuading groups of adult males in civic environments. Also, Dido's speeches are in verse, whereas those following are in prose. The formatting of the gloss suggests a clear intention to quote Dido's entire speeches and, as was suggested above, may indicate that the commentator is quoting from memory. That the longer of the two prose excerpts exhibits more variations than either of the speeches in verse supports this hypothesis, since memorizing verse was more common (and easier), especially in the classroom.[41] By their position, Dido's speeches having been put first are highlighted as the most significant, surely another reason why they are given specific instructions.

I would suggest that gender does function prominently but indirectly in this gloss, perhaps because the expression of female emotion was more common in the classroom than in the environments for which the instructions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (and Cicero's *De inventione*) were originally intended. Dido's speeches exhibit distinct emotional registers which in the text are emphasized by the punctuation and use of capital letters marking line changes.[42] They demand different kinds of performances from that recommended for the two kinds of prose emotional *amplificatio* in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, while the excerpts by the male speakers do not.

Perhaps most significant is that the commentator's immediate reaction to the discussion of emotional language in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was to quote two speeches that do not fit the framework provided by the text. Thus, the primary function of this gloss is to expand the discussion in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and even contradict it by including kinds of language illustrative of a wider range and comprehension of emotional speech than the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* envisioned as part of his project. To the commentator, Dido's speeches are exemplary of emotional language par excellence — and emotional language is the only kind for which the commentator felt the need to provide examples. Those who performed Dido's speeches needed very different instructions, which they receive in this gloss.

---

[41] On the memorizing and analysing of Adherbal's speech in earlier centuries, see the essay by Karin Margareta Fredborg in this volume, especially the section entitled 'Rhetoric and the Reading of the Classical Rhetorical Speeches'.

[42] Cf. Marjorie Curry Woods, 'The Classroom as Courtroom: Cicero's Attributes of Persons and the Interpretation of Classical Literary Characters in the Renaissance', in *Ciceroniana: Atti del XIII Colloquium Tullianum, Milano, 27–29 marzo 2008* (Roma: Centro di Studi Ciceroniani, 2009), pp. 203–15.

I have written elsewhere some preliminary results of my ongoing examination of marginal comments on speeches by male and female characters in texts like the *Aeneid* that were taught in the classroom during the later Middle Ages,[43] and we know that Dido's speeches were often singled out for performance in all-male classrooms earlier.[44] The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was written to help adult male orators, and the performance of speeches by literary characters including women in the classroom necessitated an expanded repertoire of performative techniques. Yet so far I have not found glosses in manuscripts of the *Aeneid* that are this explicit with regard to vocal performance. The additional instructions by the commentator in this manuscript of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, short as they are in comparison to Dido's speeches themselves, are as valuable as they are rare.[45]

---

[43] These two speeches by Dido are divided into parts of a rhetorical argument in other manuscripts; see Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Rhetoric, Gender, and the Literary Arts: Classical Speeches in the Schoolroom', in *Medieval Grammar and the Literary Arts*, ed. by Rita Copeland, David Lawton, and Wendy Scase, New Medieval Literatures, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 113–32 (pp. 124–31). But both are internally consistent, and they have a cumulative emotional power.

[44] Jan M. Ziolkowski has examined the manuscript evidence of musical performance of Dido's speeches and other emotional or metrically difficult verse passages in schools during the tenth through the twelfth centuries in *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

[45] See also above, note 8.

Two Medieval Concepts of Lingual Creativity

James J. Murphy

What do I mean by the term 'lingual'? The English language does not seem to have a single term denoting non-genre language use per se. This is not intended as a mere linguistic quibble. It is an important background principle in what I have to say. The terms we associate with language use all have a specificity we are not usually aware of. If we say 'logical' we immediately conjure up sets of rules, principles, even what we call 'laws' of relationships between statements and their proofs. If we say 'grammatical' we envision prescriptions for the ordering of nouns, verbs, and the other so-called parts of speech. If we say 'rhetorical' we look to formalized preparations for future language use. If we say 'linguistic' we look into investigations of the nature of language, its forms, and even its forms in various national varieties.

But what do we call that language in its about-to-be state? When it is about-to-be-created? When it is still, as the scholastics would say, 'potential' language? Before it has genre, before it has format? I would like to use the term 'lingual' to denote this state.[1]

---

[1] This term is frequently associated with the human tongue, but is also used by extension to refer to products of the tongue. Hence, meaning 4b in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 'pertaining to language or languages'. See also James J. Murphy, 'Poetry without Genre: The

---

James J. Murphy is Professor Emeritus of English and of Rhetoric and Communication at the University of California, Davis. He is the author or editor of twenty-four books, including *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (1974, 2001), *Medieval Eloquence* (1978), *A Synoptic History of Classical Rhetoric* (2013), as well as seventy journal articles and book chapters. He is a Fellow of the Medieval Society of America.

Public Declamations: Essays on Medieval Rhetoric, Education, and Letters in Honour of Martin Camargo, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Denise Stodola, DISPUT 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) pp. 267–282 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.5.107459

This issue has an ancient background. Plato argues in his *Ion* that divine forces beyond human control 'inspire' — that is, 'breathe into' — the soul of a poet to create wonders of language use. But the more pragmatic Romans declared in their doctrines of rhetoric that the creative process involved 'invention' (finding) of ideas and then 'arranging' these ideas in some order, and then putting words to them (style) before recollecting them in memory and then delivering them either orally or in writing to an audience. This five-step process, designed initially for oratory, came to be applied to all kinds of human expression.

The key Roman point was that invention — the finding of ideas — could be systematized. So we find elaborate schemes for the use of 'topics' — categories of thinking — and 'issues' spelled out in Roman works and transmitted as standard doctrine into the Middle Ages.

But even here there was a theoretical divergence. In the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of about 90 BCE — so close to Cicero's works that it was universally regarded as Cicero's in the Middle Ages — there appeared another concept of invention. If we are to have different parts of a speech, the author suggests, why don't we simply find things to say for each part and not worry about invention for a whole speech? In other words, why not let the format lead to ideas about each part of the format? The master teacher of Rome, Quintilian, was also unsure about the relation between invention and arrangement, though it is clear that his major emphasis is on education for *facilitas*, the language-readiness in the person that can be adapted to any situation.

The history of lingual creativity in the Middle Ages displays a conflict between these two approaches inherited from the ancient world. One is based on preparing the human mind for any kind of future discourse, while the other is based on using a given format like a box to be filled up. As has so often been the case in human history, this intellectual conflict plays out in the educational programmes designed to prepare future writers and speakers, and we can trace these developments through the masterworks written for them.

The masters writing for the *ars dictaminis*, Guido Faba for example, lay out a five-part letter format in which writers are to 'invent' ideas for each of the five parts. The masters of the *ars praedicandi*, such as Robert of Basevorn, likewise block out a multipart format for which the preacher is to supply his own ideas at each point.

The authors of the *artes poetriae*, like Geoffrey of Vinsauf, on the other hand, look to a more Quintilianistic preparation of the students for a language-

---

Metapoetics of the Middle Ages', *Poetica*, 11 (1969), 1–8.

without-genre which can then be translated into any format desired. Creativity thus inheres in the future language-user as a person, not in the format he will someday use.

A discussion of these two differing concepts of creativity can tell us much about medieval ideas of thought and expression.

The Ancient Ambiguity about Creativity

The ancient Greeks were, as we know, fascinated by questions about the nature of language. Plato's *Dialogues* in particular discuss the origins, effects, and meaning possibilities.[2] Aristotle offers what is perhaps the first formal definition of language: 'Spoken words are symbols of mental experiences, and written words are symbols of spoken words.'[3] He further stresses the distinction between the 'what' and the 'how' in his *Rhetoric* when he says 'it is not enough to have a supply of things to say, but it is also necessary to say it in the right way'.[4] This is often regarded as his introduction to style and arrangement, but also it is clearly based on his understanding of language to include thought-as-prior-to-its-expression.

It is not entirely clear to historians what transpired between the death of Aristotle in 322 BCE and the comparatively sudden appearance of two highly schematic Roman rhetorical handbooks a little over two centuries later that abandoned such abstract ideas in favour of specific advice to would-be orators. In fact, one of them, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*c.* 90 BCE), declares at the beginning that its author has 'omitted to treat those topics which, for the sake of futile self-assertion, Greek writers have adopted'.[5] The other book, the youthful *De inventione* (*c.* 87 BCE) of Marcus Tullius Cicero, is so like the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* that for almost fifteen hundred years it was assumed that both were written by Cicero.[6] Both these handbooks assumed that there are five 'parts' to rhetoric, and their respective definitions are very close to each other:

---

[2] See Plato, *Plato on Rhetoric and Language: Four Key Dialogues*, ed. by Jean Neinkamp (Mahwah, NJ: Hermagoras Press, 1999).

[3] Aristotle, *De interpretatione*, in *The Works of Aristotle*, trans. by W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), I.chap.1,10a.

[4] Aristotle, *Aristotle on Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, trans. by George A. Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 217.

[5] [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. by H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classic Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1944), I.1.1.

[6] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cicero in Twenty-Eight Volumes*, II: *De inventione. De optimo genere oratorum. Topica*, trans. by H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA:

Cicero, *De inventione*	**Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium***
Invention is the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments to render one's case plausible.	Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing.
Arrangement is the distribution of arguments thus discovered into the proper order.	Arrangement is the ordering and distribution of the matter making clear the place in which each thing is to be assigned.
Expression is the fitting of the proper language to the invented matter.	Style is the adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised.
Memory is the firm mental grasp of matter and words.	Memory is the firm retention in the mind of the matter, words, and arrangement.
Delivery is the control of the voice and body in a manner suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and the style.	Delivery is the graceful regulation of the voice, countenance, and gesture.

But this apparently logical Roman sequence has some conceptual problems about the relation of thought to language. For example, what does 'discovery' mean for Cicero, or 'devising matter' mean for the Pseudo-Cicero? Do they imply that a 'something' exists prior to its discovery? What is 'matter' (*materia*)? And when the Pseudo-Cicero says words follow invention and arrangement, does he imply that thinking and arrangement can exist without words? Or, can Cicero visualize that arguments can exist without either arrangement or words?

When one looks even more closely at their methods of invention, the conceptual ambiguities multiply. For example, both authors assume as axiomatic that Aristotle was correct in dividing oratory into three types: judicial or legal, deliberative or political, and epideictic or demonstrative. But both assume also that different kinds of arguments need to be invented for each type. After devoting nine-tenths of his *De inventione* to legal rhetoric, for example, Cicero declares, 'I shall next give the topics and rules for the presentation of arguments in the deliberative and epideictic types'.[7] Apparently Cicero believes that there are particular types of inventions to match the different types of oratory. This view was reinforced by the general Roman process of finding arguments, founded on two different methods: topics and issues. So important were the

---

Harvard University Press, 1963). Cicero announces (II.lix.178) that it is the first of five books covering all five parts.

[7] Cicero, *De inventione*, trans. by Hubbell, II.ii.155.

topics (‘places’, or *loci* in Latin) that Cicero wrote a whole separate book about them, in which he defines a topic as ‘a region of an argument’, a place to go to find ideas.[8] Some examples are definition, comparison, contraries, and authority. The topics are thought processes designed to identify only the beginning of a line of reasoning, not to arrange it or complete it. Even so, both books identify special topics for different types of arguments.[9]

Invention through issues, however, brings arrangement patterns into play. The Romans inherited from writers like Hermagoras of Temnos (second century BCE) the doctrine of ‘stasis’, or invention through identifying the key questions to be asked in any controversy. There were usually four questions to consider: conjecture (did something happen?), definition (what was it?), quality (what kind was it?), and translation (is this the right place to discuss it?). The confusion between invention and arrangement is set up by the inherent necessity to provide an immediate, organized argument to answer each question.[10] All this was further complicated by the fact that at the same time these Roman treatises agreed that there were six parts of an oration, each part requiring invented material:

- Exordium (introduction)
- Narrative
- Partition
- Confirmation
- Refutation
- (Optional Digression)
- Peroration (Conclusion)

The Pseudo-Cicero is direct about the relation of invention to the six parts, declaring ‘Invention is used for the six parts of a discourse’.[11] Cicero follows the same concept, devoting 89 of his 109 sections of the *De inventione* to analysis of almost the entire art of rhetoric under the six parts of an oration; for example, argument is treated under confirmation (proof).[12]

---

[8] *Topica* I.7.

[9] See, for instance, [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. by Hubbell, II.6.

[10] The author of the *Ad Herennium*, for example, devotes the whole of his Book II to the arguments to follow the conjectural issue for just one cause, the juridical.

[11] [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. by Hubbell, I.iii.4.

[12] As Catherine Steel notes, ‘Rhetoric divides and classifies in order to develop a set of teachable recipes, but in so doing undermines its capacity to deliver an organic whole’.

At the same time the Roman educational system, exemplified in the *Institutio oratoria* (95 CE)[13] of Quintilian, while confirming the standard three parts of oratory, the six parts of an oration, and invention through topics and *stasis*, nevertheless provides for an elaborate training system which prepares the minds of the students for a lifetime of personal artistry. The aim of rhetorical education, Quintilian says, is *facilitas*, the capacity to produce appropriate language for any circumstance. Future ideas are produced from the fertile mind of the trained inventor, not from the so-called 'rules' of rhetoric.[14] The *Institutio oratoria*, then, introduces a fundamental self-contradiction into Roman ideas about rhetoric by putting invention in the rhetor's mind rather than in his system.

What one sees in ancient Roman rhetoric, then, is some ambivalence about the relation between finding 'material' and arranging 'material'. Does the *materia* exist prior to its wording? The apparently tidy structures of the 'Ciceronian' handbooks do not appear so neatly taxonomic when examined more closely.

It is important to note that this five-part scheme of rhetoric remained the standard for late antiquity and the Middle Ages. It was taken up by Augustine, Fortunatianus, Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin, Petrus Helias (who added etymology to invention), and Rupert of Deutz.[15] The scheme was not only repeated in the two 'Ciceronian' texts, but enhanced and multiplied in their numerous commentaries beginning with Victorinus in the fourth century.[16]

Three Medieval Genres

A medieval writer about language use, then, inheritor of this long Roman rhetorical tradition, but seeking independence, might well ponder his choices when considering how ideas occur and how they are put into words or arranged.

See Catherine Steel, 'Divisions of Speech', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric*, ed. by Erik Gunderson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 77–91 (p. 80).

[13] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, Loeb Classical Library, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[14] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. by Russell, II.13.1.

[15] Pertinent excerpts from all these authors may be found in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory* AD *300–1475*, ed. by Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[16] This is an enormous subject. See John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995). See also *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

It seems fair to use the term 'rhetorical' to describe works dealing with future language — that is, works aimed at preparing their readers/hearers for discourses not yet in being. The core principle of rhetoric is concern for future language, whatever the genus or species might be. Thus the ancient Greeks and Romans prepared for the type of discourse most needed in their societies — that is, the spoken public oration. But the principles of moving from thought to expression, as history has proved, can be applied to other needs in other societies. For example, Augustine saw rhetoric as a means of teaching Christianity while Alcuin used it to persuade Charlemagne to abandon massacre as a public policy.

In the so-called 'medieval' period — say, 1000 to 1400 CE — there were numerous efforts in all fields to identify the nature of specific human activities, especially with the gradual introduction of translations of Aristotle's analytic modalities. In the 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance' this effort produced the category of the *ars* (plural *artes*), or treatise defining a field, its species, and functions. This was true in the field of language use as well.

Not surprisingly, one of the efforts was to discover a language of language, or art of arts. But this did not prove feasible. One of the most perceptive (and unusual) thirteenth-century writers about language use was the grammarian John of Garland (*c.* 1195–1272), whose ambition was to synthesize a master theory applicable to all forms of writing. He identifies types of writing by their forms: that is, prose, poetry, metric, and what he calls *prosametricum*. In his *De arte prosayca, metrica, et rithmica*, his approach to invention is to cite both Horace and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Horace on 'material equal to your talents' and the Pseudo-Cicero on 'thinking up things'.[17] He seems to recognize a state of ideation prior to wording but does not elaborate on the matter. He also notes the existence of two different types of prose, *dictamen* (letter writing) and *praedicatio* (preaching), but in line with his main objective he does not see a need for special treatment of the types. If John's *De arte* ultimately fails to construct a metagenre, it may have been because there were simply too many factors, too many subgenres, too many special needs, to be wrapped into one conceptual frame to solve ancient ambiguities. In the end he settles for composing what is essentially another *ars poetriae* (see below).

On the other hand, it is an empirical observation that there are hundreds of medieval manuscripts dealing with future language, most displaying identifying characteristics which can be grouped into three separate categories it seems fair to name as 'genres'. All three are types of rhetoric, each addressing the need for future language in a separate societal situation. These three genres have been identified through European library research which noted the similarities among manuscript groupings.[18]

---

[17] For the convenience of readers, citations where possible will be to *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter. This citation is to pp. 644–45. For a summary of John's views, see James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 175–80.

In terms of invention, two of these genres may be called format-centred, and the third 'humanistic' or person-centred.

Thinking Inside the Box: From Format to Idea

I

The first of these medieval format-driven genres to appear was the art of letter writing, or *ars dictaminis*. Ancient Roman rhetoric did not recognize letter writing as a separate study, since a capable rhetor like Cicero was deemed capable of handling all types of discourse. Although the fourth-century rhetorician C. Julius Victor did include letter writing in his *Ars rhetorica*, the genre did not develop completely until the latter part of the eleventh century with the work of Alberic of Monte Cassino and Adalberto Samaritano.[19]

This is also the only one of the three genres which puts into theoretical form the practices of letter writers already in use for some time. While many writers of late antiquity relied on *formulae* similar to modern office forms with blanks to be filled in, others relied on collections of sample letters like the *Variae* of Cassiodorus Senator (490–586). But scholars like Carol Dana Lanham have also shown that numerous letters exist from late antiquity and the Carolingian period that show patterns already similar to those laid out in the formal *artes dictaminis* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[20]

---

[18] The three genres are treated at length in Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*. Martin Camargo has expressed a concern that this concentration on the genres may produce a sort of 'reductionism' at the expense of the exploration of Ciceronian influences. See Martin Camargo, 'Defining Medieval Rhetoric', in *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, ed. by Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson, Disputatio, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 21–34.

[19] For the evolution of this genre, see Martin Camargo, *Ars Dictaminis, Ars Dictandi*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 29–41.

[20] Carol Dana Lanham, *'Salutatio' Formulas in Latin Letters to 1200: Style and Theory* (München: Arbeo-Gesselschaft, 1975).

In any case, by the 1130s, the typical *ars dictaminis* — and hundreds still exist in manuscript — offered an 'approved format' which was clearly derived from an analogy to the Ciceronian six parts of an oration:

Parts of an Oration	Bologneses 'Approved Format' for a Letter
Exordium	*Salutatio*, or formal vocative greeting to addressee *Captatio benevolentiae*, or introduction
Divisio	(Omitted as separate part)
Narratio	*Narratio*, or narration of circumstances leading to petition
Confirmatio	*Petitio*, or presentation of requests
Refutatio	(Omitted as a separate part)
Peroratio	*Conclusio*, or final part[21]

In terms of invention, the only conclusion that can be reached from the concept of 'approved format' is that the would-be writer is charged to find *materia* for each 'part'. The format drives the invention. As one later practitioner put it, 'It is better to work from form than from material' ('melius ex forma quam material rei formande').[22]

This conclusion is further borne out by the proliferation of manuscript collections of various ways to devise the *salutatio* or the *captatio benevolentiae*. In a feudal society with many layers of social status, the personal greeting to head the letter was of critical importance, and writers needed careful guidance in this thicket of sensitive relationships. Also, the introduction, the aptly titled 'capture of good-will', produced similar collections, especially of proverbs that might be used to compare the recipient to some virtuous act or nature.[23]

The medieval genre of the 'art of letter writing', then, is one in which authors took a clear stand on the invention-arrangement issue left unresolved by the ancients, declaring that format leads to ideas.

II

The second major medieval rhetorical genre was the *ars praedicandi*, or 'art of preaching'. It had a development quite different from that of the *ars dictaminis* just discussed. The concept of Christian 'preaching' begins with Jesus Christ, who enjoined his disciples to 'teach all nations' (Matthew 28. 18). Preaching was reinforced by the apostle Paul in his outreach to non-Jews ('gentiles'), and was formally pronounced as a duty of the 'apostolic' church in the Council of Nicea in 325 CE. But for the first twelve centuries of its existence, partly because of a grudging acceptance of ancient rhetoric and partly because of a rejection of it, Christianity made no serious attempt to establish its own 'theory' (*ars*) of preaching.[24]

---

[21] Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 225.

[22] Lawrence of Aquilegia (*c.* 1300). Cited in Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 259.

[23] Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 233–35.

Shortly after the opening of the thirteenth century, however, around 1210 CE, the *Summa de arte praedicandi* of Thomas Chobham offered a remarkably comprehensive *ars* thoughtfully exploring the role of preaching, its relation to Ciceronian rhetoric, its difference from dialectic, its relation to scripture, and its proper form (*forma*). Chobham is thoroughly familiar with Ciceronian rhetoric, especially the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and meets head-on the invention/arrangement ambiguities discussed above. The work is clearly in the analytic mode of the times.[25]

The basic proposal is that an 'artistic' sermon should be built around a 'theme' or scriptural passage, which is to be divided and subdivided, each division then 'amplified' or 'proved'. Divisions, preferably, are to be in threes. He suggests the following six means of making divisions: first, dividing the theme into words; second, into classes of things (e.g. genus and species); third, whole and all potential parts; fourth, substance and accidents; fifth, accidents into their kinds; and sixth, various significations of individual words in the theme.

Chobham's text is quite complex, but ultimately he lays out a structured organizational plan for the thematic sermon:

1. Opening prayer for divine aid
2. Protheme (antetheme), or introduction to the Theme
3. Theme, a scriptural quotation
4. Division, or statement of the parts of the Theme
5. Development (amplification, proof, or prosecution) of each of the 'members' resulting from the Division
6. Prayer with (optional) Conclusion

---

[24] Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 269–300.

[25] The first partial English translation of Chobham is now available in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, pp. 614–38. Chobham is discussed in Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 316–27.

It is clear from this plan that the only really important parts of the sermon are the theme, its divisions, and the amplification (or 'proof') of each of the members deriving from the divisions. This was to be the dominant pattern for most of the some three hundred *artes praedicandi* known to have been written between 1200 and about 1550. Almost all are still in manuscript.[26]

As might have been expected, a widespread subindustry sprang up to support the preaching industry. This homiletic apparatus included the scripture with glosses, collections of exempla (in two types, cautionary narratives and *sententiae*, or aphoristic statements), topic charts, lists of metaphors, concordances to scripture, alphabetical lists, sermon outlines, model sermons, and the like.

One of the most popular of these ancillary texts was the *ars dilatandi sermones* of the Englishman Richard of Thetford whose title first appears in a library catalogue in 1268. (The term *dilatio* was one of the several synonyms for amplification, prosecution, or proof of a member of a subdivided Theme.) Richard offers 'eight modes of amplification' which are quoted, as a set, in at least seven other preaching manuals:

1. Placing a locution in place of name, as in describing, interpreting, or any other kind of exposition
2. Dividing
3. Reasoning, including syllogism, induction, example, and enthymeme
4. Using concordant authorities
5. Using roots of the known
6. Proposing metaphors and showing their aptness for instruction
7. Exposing the theme through diverse modes of meaning, that is literal, allegorical, tropological or moral, and anagogical senses
8. Assigning cause and effect

It was not a particularly systematic set, but — like the almost random set of tropes and figures arrayed in the fourth book of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* thirteen centuries earlier — it achieved popularity and authority simply because it was a set, and therefore a place to start.

---

[26] But now see Siegfried Wenzel, *The Art of Preaching: Five Medieval Texts and Translations* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

The very existence of all these ancillary supports for the would-be maker of the future thematic sermon is another testimony, beyond the texts of the *artes* themselves, that medieval thinkers about sermon invention deliberately opted for using the divided parts of the sermon to devise ideas. They are thus on the same plane as their dictaminal brothers in looking to format to produce ideas.

It is important to note, moreover, that this process of division with 'proofs' for each division and subdivision is not intended to produce a persuasive progression of ideas, but rather a set of parallel micro-sermons. Medieval authors often referred to the product as an inverted 'tree', with the theme as trunk and all the branches and re-branches bearing the fruit of separate ideas. (See the Appendix below based on the plan outlined in Robert of Basevorn's *Forma praedicandi*, 1322.)

Both these format-driven genres provide a pre-existing platform to which ideas can be brought. For example, if a medieval pope wished to warn a king against some action, his scribe could readily locate a previously used model in which to insert the relevant details, just as a preacher could find sermon models for every feast day in the liturgical calendar. This was ready-made composition, not creative writing.

Thinking Outside the Box: From Mind to Idea

III

The third rhetorical genre of the Middle Ages has variously been called the 'Arts of Poetry' and the 'Arts of Poetry and Prose'. In his first chapter in a section on 'Evolution of the Genre', Douglas Kelly writes that 'Except for a few catalogues of figures and tropes or illustrations of different kinds of versification and stanzaic structures, no formal treatise on verse or prose composition appeared before Matthew of Vendome's *Ars versificatoria* about 1170'.[27] This may seem a strange statement in light of what has just been written above about the prose *ars dictaminis*, until one notes that it occurs in Kelly's second chapter headed 'The Tradition for Instruction in Poetics, Prosody, and Literary Prose'. In other words, there can be a separate kind of non-dictaminal prose susceptible to the same kind of instruction accorded to poetry.

---

[27] Douglas Kelly, *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*, Typologie des souces du moyen age occidental, 59 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), p. 77.

This is an important distinction when it comes to looking at a group of six Latin *artes* which appeared between 1170 and sometime before 1280. They were all written by grammarians, teachers of a grammar which was then much wider in scope than the modern popular view of the subject as merely a guardian of correctness in language.[28]

The treatises were Matthew of Vendome, *Ars versificatoria* (*c.* 1170–75); Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova* (1208–13) and *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* (after 1213); Gervase of Melkley, *Ars versifiicaria* (*c.* 1215); John of Garland, *De arte prosayca, metrica, et rithmica* (after 1229); and Eberhard the German, *Laborintus* (after 1213, before 1280).[29]

To the extent that these *artes* were all concerned with what Kelly elsewhere has called 'the future poem' — that is, future discourse — they may fairly be called rhetorical.

But what is their inventional stance? They all propose to show writers/students the *how* of managing words for effect. They all discuss amplification — but amplification of *what*? Unlike the writers of the two previous genres with their invention through format, these authors assume a beginning-before-the-beginning. And they all try to teach the future writer — the person — rather than any particular format or literary genre. The earliest of them, the *Ars versificatoria* of Matthew of Vendome, is only a half-step away from being a commentary on commentaries, but he does acknowledge that writers must either work with what has been done before, or with what is new. With the new, one begins with attributes of a person or with attributes of an action.[30] Either way it is the mind of the writer, not any pre-established format, that finds the way.

The most famous of them all, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, in one of the most quoted medieval rhetorical statements, puts it this way:

> If a man has a house to build, his impetuous hand does not rush into action. The measuring line of his mind first lays out the work, and he mentally outlines the successive steps in a definite order. The mind's hand shapes the entire house before the body's hand builds it.[31]

---

[28] For a treatment of medieval grammar, see Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 136–62.

[29] All but the *Documentum* are in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter. For a selection from that Latin text, see Martin Camargo, 'Toward a Comprehensive Art of Written Discourse: Geoffrey of Vinsauf and the *Ars Dictaminis*', in Martin Camargo, *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), no. X, pp. 186–92, as well as his related article on the *Tria sunt* in the same volume, no. IX, pp. 935–55.

[30] *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, p. 571.

[31] *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, pp. 596–97.

Just so for the future poem, he adds, 'let it exist in the mind before it is on the lips'. This is a far cry from the concept of the 'approved format' of the Bolognese *dictatores*. Gervase of Melkley notes that word-centred discussion can only begin 'once any subject matter has been determined'.[32] John of Garland declares invention 'is to come into knowledge of an unknown thing through the agency of one's own reasoning'.[33]

It is sometimes difficult for modern readers to appreciate that these authors' near-obsession with words is not a pedagogical vice, but rather a consistent teacher's striving to get students to value variety in writing. But they all share a sense of ideation prior to verbalism. They share it so completely that sometimes they do not feel it necessary to spell out what everyone knows. An understanding of the long sweep of language instruction in Europe, beginning with Quintilian as well as Cicero, would enhance the modern reader's appreciation of what these writers were trying to do in what was for them a rapidly modernizing society.[34]

Epilogue

What can we learn from the decision of some medieval writers to choose format-driven lingual creativity as opposed to others who favoured mind-centred modes?

There are records of a teaching exercise from late antiquity built around Aesop's fable of the cat, the fox, and the hounds. Both the cat and the fox hear the fearsome hounds howling as they race towards them. What to do? The cat knows only one thing to do, so he immediately leaps into a tree and is saved. Meanwhile the fox, which knows many ways to evade the hounds, stands there mulling over his choices and is torn to pieces by the hounds before he can make up his mind. But, asks the master, what if there were no tree for the cat? On the other hand, how should the fox learn how to make up his mind? Applying the story to writing, the master asks which is worse, to know only one way to write, or to know many ways to write but be unable to make choices?

Which is better, the one or the many? Or, which inventional approach can you trust?

---

[32] *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, p. 611.

[33] *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. by Copeland and Sluiter, p. 645.

[34] In this connection, see Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Quintilian and Medieval Teaching', in *Quintiliano: Historia y Actualidad de la Retorica: Actas del Congresso Internacional de la Instituto Oratorio*, ed. by Tomas Albaladejo, Emelio del Rio, and Jose Antonio Caballero, 3 vols (Logrono: Instituto des Estudios Riojanos, 1998), iii, 1531–40.

In a sense, the decision of the dictaminal and praedicandal masters to focus on a readily mastered format system — the 'one' — reflected a lack of trust in their writers. But in another sense, they had inherited some centuries-long practices which could be recognized as some form of standardization in writing. The three-ness of medieval preaching manuals, for instance, may go all the way back to Ciceronian habits of periodic sentence structure influenced by a later Trinitarian cosmology; but this is a particular theory not yet tested. In both preaching and letter writing, as we have seen above, they could find in 'Ciceronian' rhetoric a justification for devising ideas for each of the parts in a discourse and thus making the parts themselves an inventional focus. This could be an efficient idea-collection device.[35]

On the other hand, it was far riskier for medieval grammarians embracing future discourse to lay out methods which depended ultimately for their success on the operation of the human mind. If there was indeed a pre-word knowledge — a lingual state before words — to be tapped for future use, how could this be trusted? How could this sense of lingual creativity even be found? How could decisions about the 'many' modes be taught?

Perhaps this risk accounts for the fact that there were so few writers of the *ars poetriae* (six) compared with the hundreds for the other two genres, though the enormous popularity of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* may by itself have satisfied this felt need.[36] On the other hand, the format-driven *artes* may have proliferated simply because they deal easily with the massive everyday career requirements of business or mandated preaching, while artistic creativity is a rarer, elite process.

In any case, the very existence of two separate medieval concepts of lingual creativity is an interesting chapter in the development of medieval culture. It surely merits further study.

---

[35] Naturally there were some overlaps between the genres in day-to-day teaching, as Camargo shows in 'The Pedagogy of the *Dictatores*', in his *Essays on Medieval Rhetoric*, pp. 65–94.

[36] Perhaps also the excruciating pedagogical detail of the typical medieval language-teaching manual is a symptom of risk avoidance. The fox in Aesop's story needs a thorough training. For a detailed analysis of one such master's methods, see Marjorie Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the 'Poetria nova' across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010). Marjorie Curry Woods and Martin Camargo, 'Writing Instruction in Late Medieval Europe', in *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Contemporary America*, ed. by James J. Murphy, 3rd edn (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 114–47.

APPENDIX

Organizational Plan of the Medieval Thematic Sermon
(as exemplified in Robert of Basevorn, *Forma praedicandi*, 1322)

Antetheme

Statement of Theme

'I will cover the son with a cloud.' Ezek. 32. 7

Prayer

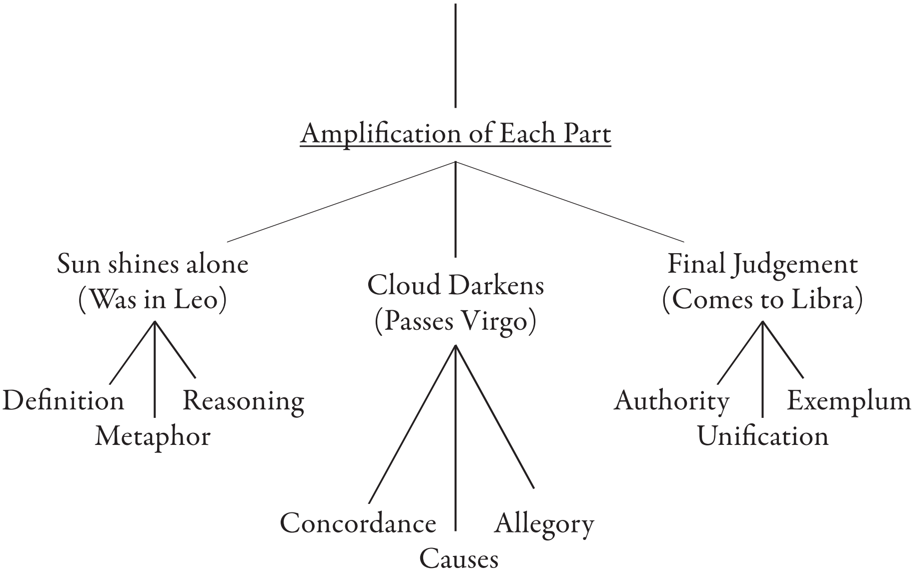
Introduction

(By Authority, or by Argument, or by both)

Division into Threes

1. Statement of Parts (Reasons for Partition)

2. 'Proof' of Each Part


Amplification of Each Part
Sun shines alone (Was in Leo)
Cloud Darkens (Passes Virgo)
Final Judgement (Comes to Libra)
Definition
Metaphor
Reasoning
Concordance
Causes
Allegory
Authority
Unification
Exemplum

INDEX

Abelard, Peter: 30, 32, 33 n. 44, 33 n. 48, 45 n. 2, 52, 52 n. 22, 53, 53 nn. 22–23, 62, 62 n. 42
Aeschines: 95–97, 95 n. 35, 95 n. 37
affectiones: 3–11, 13–14, 19, 40 n. 64
  iracundia: 255–56
Anselm of Laon: 34, 34 n. 48, 38–40, 45–46, 46 n. 4, 55, 55 n. 26, 61, 61 n. 38
Apollonius of Tyana: 83 n. 1, 99–100
  see also Philostratus
argumentation, rhetorical: 14–16, 30, 47, 49, 51, 55–56, 59–60, 83
  communes loci: 4, 16–18
  loci: 5, 12, 16, 168, 243 n. 40, 259, 271
  stasis: 29, 132, 137, 271–72
  status: 24 n. 11, 27–29, 58–62
Aristotle: 3, 3 n. 1, 27, 49, 58, 128, 134, 217, 269–70, 269 nn. 3–4, 273
  De interpretatione: 269 n. 3
  Metaphysics: 217
  Rhetoric: 3, 269
Arnold, Richard: 143 n. 58, 144
artes poetriae: xiii, 30 n. 34, 268, 273, 281
artes praedicandi: 268, 275, 277
  Ars dilatandi sermones: 277
  Forma praedicandi: 282
  Summa de arte praedicandi: 276
Aspasius: 94, 98–99

Bacon, Roger: 216, 216 n. 10, 227
bestiary: 217, 218 nn. 21–22, 219, 219 n. 24, 219 n. 28, 220 nn. 29–30, 221 n. 34, 221 n. 36, 221 n. 38, 221 n. 40, 224, *see also* Richard de Fournival
Boethius: 5, 5 n. 3, 11 n. 17, 27, 27 n. 22, 33 n. 48, 37 n. 57, 37–38, 46, 46 n. 4, 48–49, 55–56, 55 n. 27, 56 n. 28, 58, 58 n. 32, 63 n. 44, 63–64
  Consolation of Philosophy: 37, 46, 48, 64
  De topicis differentiis: 5, 5 n. 3, 27 n. 22, 33 n. 48, 58, 58 n. 32, 63, 63 n. 44
  genera: 30 n. 32, 34, 38, 58–61, 63
Bourdieu, Pierre: 200, 200 n. 35
  Outline of a Theory of Practice: 200 n. 35
Byrche, William: 131

Camargo, Martin: vii, ix–xvii, 20, 23, 64, 77–78, 80, 83n, 84, 103, 110, 112–13, 115, 138, 170, 191, 200, 217, 231–32, 252, 253, 274 n. 18
  Curriculum Vitae: xvii–xxvii
  scholarship: xi, xi nn. 4–6, xiv n. 11, 20 n. 41, 23 n. 7, 77 n. 32, 77–80, 84 n. 4, 98 n. 46, 103 n. 1, 109 n. 15, 110 nn. 16–17, 111 n. 19, 112 nn. 22–23, 113 nn. 24–25, 115 n. 27, 130 n. 18, 138 nn. 42–44, 139 n. 46, 170 n. 47, 173, 173 n. 1,

191, 191 nn. 1–2, 200 n. 34, 217 n. 17, 231 n. 1, 241 n. 30, 250 n. 63, 252 nn. 71–72, 253 n. 1, 274 nn. 18–19, 279 n. 29, 281 nn. 35–36

Capella, Martianus: 4, 11, 13, 13 nn. 21–23, 14 nn. 24–26, 16, 19, 272

  De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii: 13 nn. 21–23, 14 nn. 24–25, 13–14, 16–17

‘Celi Deus Sanctissime’: 104, 104 nn. 2–3, 108, 111 n. 20, 114–19, 116 n. 29, 121

Chaucer, Geoffrey: xi n. 6, xiv, xviii, xix–xxv, xxvii, 20 n. 41, 23 n. 7, 73, 107 n. 9, 107 n. 11, 109 n. 15, 111 n. 19, 117 n. 30, 159, 159 n. 23, 163 n. 29, 203 n. 40, 231 n. 1, 252 n. 72, 253 n. 1

Cicero, Marcus Tullius: xiii, xiii n. 10, xix, 3–4, 5 nn. 3–4, 6–19, 6 n. 5, 7 n. 7, 8 n. 10, 9 n. 12, 21–25, 21 n. 1, 22 nn. 4–6, 24 n. 14, 25 n. 14, 27–28, 27 n. 25, 30 n. 35, 30 n. 37, 31 n. 37, 33 n. 48, 34 n. 49, 38 n. 60, 39 n. 62, 40 n. 64, 46, 46 n. 3, 46 n. 5, 48, 48 n. 11, 49 n. 13, 51 n. 19, 56 n. 28, 50–60, 84 n. 4, 89 n. 18, 128, 194, 194 n. 7, 198 n. 24, 201–02, 204 n. 41, 205 n. 57, 207 n. 69, 208 n. 82, 211 n. 111, 211 n. 113, 211 n. 117, 212 nn. 126–27, 254, 254 n. 3, 254 n. 5, 256–57, 261, 261 n. 34, 263 n. 38, 264 n. 42, 263–64, 269 n. 6, 270 n. 6, 268–71, 272 n. 16, 274, 280

  rhetoric, Ciceronian: xiii, 3–4, 7, 9–10, 13–15, 17, 19–20, 30 n. 35, 31 nn. 37–38, 31 n. 41, 34 n. 49, 46 n. 5, 47 n. 6, 51 n. 19, 111, 113, 140, 191, 198 n. 22, 200, 208 n. 82, 254 n. 3, 272, 272 n. 16, 274 n. 18, 275–76, 281

  De inventione: xiii, xiii n. 10, 3–14, 5 n. 4, 11 n. 18, 17 n. 36, 19 n. 40, 17–19, 21 n. 2, 22–23, 24 n. 11, 25 n. 14, 27 n. 25, 29 n. 31, 30 n. 37, 27–30, 31 nn. 38–40, 32 n. 43, 33 n. 48, 34 nn. 48–49, 36 n. 55, 32–36, 38 nn. 59–60, 39 n. 62, 39–40, 42, 46 n. 3, 46 n. 5, 48 nn. 10–11, 45–48, 49 n. 13, 50–52, 55, 58–59, 61 n. 38, 194 n. 7, 198 n. 24, 207 n. 69, 254, 254 n. 3, 254 n. 5, 264, 269–71, 269 n. 6, 270 n. 7

  De oratore: 4, 12–13, 13 n. 20, 24, 24 n. 13, 40 n. 64, 205 n. 57, 211 n. 113, 211 n. 117, 212 n. 126

  De partitione oratoria: 12, 17

  Pro Milone: 254 n. 6, 256, 261, 261 n. 34, 263 n. 38, 264

  Topica: 27 n. 25, 30 n. 37, 58, 269 n. 6, 271 n. 8

clerks: 109 n. 15, 110 n. 16, 128, 132, 135–37, 140–41

  Mayour, Henry: 137

  Porland, William: 126, 136

commentaries: xiii, 8 n. 10, 10, 10 n. 16, 11 n. 17, 18 n. 38, 19 n. 39, 21 n. 3, 22 n. 5, 21–22, 25 n. 14, 26, 30, 30 n. 36, 32 n. 45, 33 n. 48, 32–33, 34 nn. 48–49, 38 n. 60, 39 n. 62, 46, 46 n. 3, 46 n. 5, 48 n. 10, 48 n. 12, 49 nn. 13–14, 48–49, 51, 55–56, 60, 61 n. 38, 64, 65, 68, 194 n. 7, 197, 254, 254 n. 3, 254 n. 5, 272, 279, 281 n. 36

  accessus: xiv, 30, 48, 49 n. 14, 65–67, 69, 74, 77–79, 197, 197 n. 17, 207 n. 74

  catena: 21, 21 n. 3, 22 n. 5, 26, 30–32, 31 n. 38, 218

  causa: 5 n. 4, 7 n. 7, 14 n. 25, 16 n. 33, 58, 59 n. 33, 59 n. 35, 60, 60 nn. 36–37, 61 n. 39, 62 n. 41, 196 n. 14, 197, 208 n. 74

  materia: 14, 18 n. 38, 58, 58 n. 33, 59 n. 33, 70, 72–74, 235 n. 15, 270, 272, 275

Demosthenes: 93, 96 n. 41, 95–96

dictamen: xi n. 4, xiii, xiv, xvii–xviii, xix–xx, 22 n. 6, 30 n. 34, 64, 84 n. 4, 104, 110 n. 16, 109–10, 273

  artes dictaminis: xi n. 4, xvii–xxi, 77, 77 n. 32, 103 n. 1, 109, 110 n. 16, 113 n. 24, 112–13, 126 n. 7, 138, 138 nn. 42–43, 139 n. 46, 141 n. 53, 217 n. 17, 254 n. 3, 268, 274 n. 19, 274–75, 278, 279 n. 29

  artes dictandi: 114–15, 138, 191, 200, 217

  dictatores: 109, 113, 191, 200

  see also epistles

epistles: xi, xi n. 4, xiv, xviii–xx, 46 n. 4, 53, 66–67, 67 n. 4, 77, 77 n. 32, 104 n. 1, 109 n. 15, 110 n. 17, 111 n. 19, 110–11, 112 nn. 22–23, 113 n. 25, 115 n. 27, 127, 135, 138–39, 141, 143, 194, 198, 217 n. 17
  missives: xi, 103–04, 106, 109–11, 113–15, 118
  theorists: 98, 98 n. 45, 100 nn. 49–50, 101 n. 51
  theory, epistolary: 84 n. 4, 95
  tradition, epistolary: 67 n. 4, 80

figures of speech, rhetorical: 30 n. 34, 33, 37
  anaphora: 239, 246–50
  apostrophe: xv, 239, 241–43, 246, 248
  asyndeton: 97–98
  chiasmus: 239, 246
  cohortatio: 41, 255–56, 260
  colores rhetorici: 30
  hypotaxis: 138, 141, 143
  indignatio: 11–12, 16–18, 243 n. 40
  metonymy: 9, 239, 248–50
  personification: 239, 241–43, 245 n. 48, 246
  praeteritio: 98
  prosopopoeia: 95–96, 239, 241–42
figures of thought, rhetorical: 30 n. 34, 37
  amplificatio: 11 n. 18, 264
    enumeratio: 11
  see also offices, rhetorical: delivery
  brevitas: 193, 204 n. 45
  conformatio: 243
  contentio: 41, 255, 255 n. 10
  distributio: 41, 255 n. 10
  divisio: 275
  epicheirema: 56, 100
Fortunatianus: 10, 272
  Ars rhetorica: 10

Geoffrey of Vinsauf: xi n. 6, xvii–xxii, 20, 30 n. 34, 103 n. 1, 192–93, 204 n. 45, 241 n. 30, 268, 279, 279 n. 29, 281
  Poetria nova: xi, xi n. 6, xvii–xviii, xxi, 20, 30 n. 34, 192, 204 n. 45, 241 n. 30, 279, 281, 281 n. 36
  see also artes poetriae
Gervase of Melkley: 279, 280
  Ars versificaria: 279
  see also artes poetriae
Giovanni di Bonandrea: 126, 128
Gower, John: xiv, 73, 103–19, 103, 104 nn. 2–3, 105 nn. 4–5, 106 nn. 6–8, 107 nn. 9–12, 109 n. 15, 110 n. 16, 110 n. 18, 111 nn. 19–21, 112 n. 21, 115 n. 28, 122 n. 33, 132
  'Epistola ad regem': 105–07, 116, 118, 122 n. 33
  'Rex Celi Deus': xiv, 103–08, 111–20, 122
  Vox Clamantis: 106, 110 n. 18, 122 n. 33
  see also epistles
Greene, Robert: 66–67, 69–70, 75–79
  Menaphon: xiv, 66–67, 69–70, 75–79
guilds: 128–29, 132–34, 136–37, 139, 143, 177 n. 10
  courts: 130, 134–35, 139
  documents: 127, 132
  halls: 130
  minutes: 135
  ordinances: 131–32
  petitions: 133
  records: 129–31, 134, 139

habitus: 5–11, 19, 40 n. 64, 193–96, 200, 202, 205 n. 59, 208 n. 79
herbal remedies: 233, 238–39, 245, 249 n. 63, 251, 252 n. 69
  Herbarium: xv, 231, 233, 235–38, 240–43, 245–46, 248–49, 251–52
  Lacnunga: xv, 231, 233, 235–36, 238, 240–42, 246, 251–52
  Leechbook: 233, 250
Horace (Flaccus, Quintus Horatius): 36, 36 n. 56, 46 n. 4, 46–47, 53–54, 59 n. 34, 62–63, 67, 273
  Ars poetica: 36, 36 n. 56, 46 n. 4
  Epistles: 46 n. 4, 62
Horn, Andrew: 127–28, 132
  Liber Custumarum: 128 n. 10, 132
Hugh of St. Victor: 191–94, 195 n. 10, 196 n. 13, 197, 198 n. 21, 199–201, 203 n. 40, 204 n. 41, 204 n. 45, 204 n. 46, 205 n. 52, 205 n. 57, 206 n. 64, 207 n. 69, 207 n. 74, 208 nn. 82–83, 208 n. 86, 209 nn. 92–96, 210 nn. 97–106, 211 nn. 108–10

  Didascalicon: 192, 194 n. 6, 195, 196 n. 13, 197, 198 n. 21, 201, 203 n. 40, 204 nn. 41–50, 205 nn. 51–60, 206 n. 61, 206 nn. 63–67, 206 n. 69, 207 nn. 69–77, 208 nn. 78–87, 209 nn. 88–92, 210 n. 107
humanism: xii, xxiii–xxiv, 46, 67, 125, 126 n. 6, 141 n. 53, 206 n. 60, 228, 239
  approach, humanistic: 69, 72, 274
  humanists: 31 n. 39, 51, 67, 74, 206 n. 60
hybridity: 159 n. 23, 236, 238, 240

John of Garland: 204 n. 45, 273, 279–80
  De arte prosayca, metrica, et rithmica: 273, 279
  see also artes poetriae

Kingsmill, William: 130, 138, 141

language, vernacular: 68, 73–74, 76, 144, 199, 217, 227, 237, 240
Latini, Brunetto: 31 n. 39, 51, 51 n. 19, 127–28, 132
  Tresor: 51 n. 19, 127
lectures: x, xxi–xxii, xxvi, 26 n. 20, 27, 34 n. 48, 37, 39 n. 62, 39–40, 86 n. 10, 87, 126
  lecturers: 26–27, 37, 40, 42 n. 75
  reportationes: 26, 37–38, 40, 42, 44
Libanius: 84–85, 86 n. 9, 88–90, 91 n. 22, 93–94, 100 n. 49
literature, vernacular: xiv, 79, 227
  hermeneutics: 67–68, 68 n. 7
  medical learning: 252
  poetry: 68
  poets: 239
  remedies, medical: 233, 242, 251
  romance: 77
  see also romance, medieval
  texts: 78 n. 33, 176 n. 10, 197 n. 16, 239 n. 26
  traditions: 232
  verse, poetic: 234, 239
liturgy: 104, 108, 115, 118–19, 278

Manegold: xiii, 31, 31 n. 39, 32 n. 44, 34, 37–40, 45–64
  Liber contra Wolfelmum: 32 n. 44, 45 n. 1, 47, 52 n. 20, 64

Matthew of Vendome: 278–79
  Ars versificatoria: 278–79
meditation: 191–93, 194 n. 7, 195–99, 198 n. 25, 201–02, 203 n. 40, 206–10, 207 n. 74, 208 n. 79, 209 n. 92
  De modo dicendi et meditandi: xiv, xix, xxii, 195 n. 9, 191–95, 196 n. 14, 197 n. 20, 198 n. 25, 199 n. 26, 203 n. 40, 197–203, 204 n. 45, 205 n. 59, 206 n. 63, 212 n. 127, 218 n. 20
merchants: 125–32, 134–35, 137–42, 144–45
  Archer, Robert: 130
  Cely, Richard: 140
    family, Cely: 127, 139–40
    letters: 127 n. 9, 140, 140 n. 50
    papers: 127 n. 9
  Heed, John: 137
mirrors for princes: 106

narratio: 15, 41, 113–14, 117–18, 255 n. 10, 275
Nashe, Thomas: 66–80
  Anatomy of Absurdities: 76–77, 79
  Pierce Penniless: 75
  ‘Preface to Greene’s Menaphon’: 66–80
  Strange Newes: 77
  The Unfortunate Traveler: 78

Odalricus of Rheims: xiii, 31, 32 n. 42, 37–40
offices, rhetorical: delivery: xviii, xxi–xxii, 12, 20, 23, 23 n. 7, 27, 33, 40 n. 64, 40–41, 43–44, 96, 114–15, 253 n. 1, 255–57, 259, 270
  amplificatio: 41, 255 n. 11, 256 nn. 13–14, 255–56, 260 n. 28
  see also figures of thought, rhetorical
  demonstratio: 41, 255 n. 10
  dignitas: 41
  iocatio: 41, 255 n. 10
  pronuntiatio: 12 n. 19, 23, 30 n. 37, 31–32, 36 n. 54, 40–42, 44, 255
offices, rhetorical: invention: 27 n. 25, 29, 30 n. 37, 40, 199, 209 n. 92, 255 n. 8
oratory, forensic: 5, 86, 90–91, 90 n. 20, 98, 100
Ovid (Naso, Publius Ovidius): 46–47, 76, 79, 109–10, 214, 228
  Heroides: 110

Peter of Limoges: 213–28
  Tractatus moralis de oculo: 214–16, 222–28
Philostratus: 83–101
  Erotic Letters: 94
  Life of Apollonius of Tyana: 83 n. 1, 100
  see also Apollonius of Tyana
  Lives of the Sophists: 84, 93–99
Pierre de Beauvais: 224
  Bestiary: 224
  see also bestiary
  Physiologus: 224, 227
Plato: 37, 46, 114, 268–69
  dialogues: 269
  Ion: 268
  neoplatonism: xix, 10
  neoplatonist: 4, 8–9, 29
  platonism: 58
  thought, platonic: 47, 58, 63, 117
  Timaeus: 114
prayers: xiv, 104–05, 112, 114, 116, 123, 191–202, 203 n. 40, 235 n. 18, 237 n. 20, 244, 245 n. 48, 247 n. 56, 258, 276, 282
  contemplationes: 192, 196–97, 199, 201–02
progymnasmata: 95, 195 n. 9, 199–202

Quintilian (Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius): 13, 23–24, 40, 49, 87, 194, 201–02, 268, 272, 280
  Institutio oratoria: 13, 40, 201, 272

rhetoric: ix–xv, xi nn. 5–6, xiv n. 11, xvii–xxvii, 3–6, 3 n. 1, 4 n. 2, 5 n. 3, 8–10, 9 n. 11, 13, 16 n. 34, 17 n. 37, 15–17, 19 n. 40, 20 n. 41, 19–20, 22 nn. 5–6, 23 n. 7, 23–30, 24 n. 11, 24 n. 14, 25 n. 14, 26 n. 19, 27 n. 25, 29 n. 30, 30 n. 33, 30 n. 35, 30 n. 37, 31 n. 38, 31 n. 41, 32 n. 44, 33 n. 47, 34 nn. 48–49, 35 n. 51, 33–35, 36 n. 54, 39 n. 62, 40 n. 64, 42 nn. 73–74, 43 n. 85, 46 n. 5, 47 n. 6, 45–47, 49 n. 13, 51 n. 19, 49–51, 52 n. 20, 53, 53 n. 23, 55–58, 59 n. 34, 62 n. 42, 61–64, 78, 78 nn. 33–34, 79 n. 35, 83 n. 1, 84 n. 1, 84 n. 4, 85 n. 6, 86 n. 10, 85–87, 90 n. 21, 89–90, 94, 99, 103 n. 1, 106, 108–09, 110 n. 16, 114–15, 119–20, 126 n. 4, 125–27, 130, 130 n. 18, 130 n. 20, 132–34, 137, 138 n. 42, 139 n. 46, 141 n. 52, 145 n. 61, 140–45, 173, 175–76, 175 nn. 3–4, 178, 187, 191 nn. 1–2, 193 n. 4, 194, 194 n. 7, 197 nn. 16–18, 196–97, 198 n. 22, 199, 200 n. 34, 202, 204 n. 41, 204 n. 45, 205 n. 60, 207 n. 75, 208 n. 82, 212 n. 126, 215–16, 231–34, 231 n. 1, 232 n. 2–3, 233 nn. 7–9, 234 nn. 10–13, 239, 239 n. 25, 242 n. 36, 245 n. 49, 246 n. 50, 249, 250 n. 63, 252 n. 71, 253 n. 1, 254 n. 3, 254 n. 5, 255, 259 n. 25, 264 n. 41, 265 n. 43, 268, 269 n. 2, 269 nn. 4–5, 270–74, 271 n. 12, 272 n. 12, 272 nn. 15–16, 273 n. 17, 274 n. 18, 275 nn. 21–23, 276, 276 nn. 24–25, 279 nn. 28–31, 280 nn. 32–33, 281, 281 n. 35
  argumentation *see under* argumentation, rhetorical
  facilitas: 268, 272
  figures of speech *see under* figures of speech, rhetorical
  figures of thought *see under* figures of thought, rhetorical
  offices *see under* offices, rhetorical
  rhetors: 22 n. 4, 22 n. 6, 27, 27 n. 21, 30, 79, 85 n. 5, 123, 272
    oratores: x n. 1, 6–7, 9, 12, 27–30, 42, 51 n. 19, 55, 70, 76, 78–79, 93, 96, 98, 191–96, 200–02, 203 n. 40, 265, 269, 272 n. 13
    rhetoricians: xix, xxiv, 33, 46, 49, 61, 63, 76, 80, 98, 126, 128, 130, 141, 238, 274
  sermo: 36 n. 56, 41, 255
  structures *see* structures, rhetorical
Rhetorica ad Herennium: 12, 17, 21–30, 33–44, 48, 138, 192, 243–44, 254–65, 268, 269–70, 273, 276–77
Richard de Fournival: 213, 214 nn. 1–3, 215 n. 5, 216, 217 n. 15, 217 n. 18, 217 n. 20, 218 nn. 21–24, 219 nn. 25–28, 220 nn. 29–30, 220 n. 32, 221 n. 35, 221 n. 37, 221 n. 39, 222, 224, 225, 226 n. 50, 226 n. 52, 227 n. 54, 228 n. 56
  Bestiaire d'amour: 214, 216–28

Richard of Thetford: 277
  Ars dilatandi sermones: 277
  see also artes praedicandi
Robert of Basevorn: 268, 278, 282
  Forma praedicandi: 278, 282
  see also artes praedicandi
romance, Arthurian: 150, 162, 167 n. 41
  Arthur: 151 n. 8, 161–62, 168 n. 42, 179
    court, Arthurian: 151, 153–56, 158–59, 162–63, 165–67
    society, Arthurian: 158, 162, 167
  Chrétien de Troyes: 150, 152–55, 158, 161–62, 162–63 n. 29, 165–67
    Perceval, Conte del Graal: 152, 158, 162–63 n. 29, 167
  Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: xiv, xx, 173, 173 n. 1, 174 n. 2, 175 n. 4, 175–76, 178 n. 22, 179 n. 24, 180 n. 26, 180 n. 29, 182 nn. 35–36, 184 nn. 39–41, 185 n. 42, 187
  Sir Perceval of Gales: 149–71
  Spenser, Edmund: 68–69, 71, 73, 77
    The Faerie Queene: 68–69
  Wolfram von Eschenbach: 150, 154
romance, medieval: 159 n. 23
  giant: 151–52, 154, 159, 162–68
  King Horn: 163, 166
  saracen: 151–52, 157, 159–63, 167, 169
  Sir Isumbras: 166, 169
Roscelin, logician: 38 n. 59, 45, 63 n. 44
Rupert of Deutz: 30, 272
  De operibus spiritus sancti: 30

Sallust (Crispus, Gaius Sallustius): 31 n. 39, 46, 51 n. 19, 49–51, 256–64
  Catilina: 46, 49
  Jugurtha: 46, 49 n. 14, 49–50, 263
Sampson, Thomas: 109, 138–41, *see also dictamen*
Severianus, Julius: 4, 11, 13–16, 19
  Praecepta artis rhetoricae: 13–19
sophists: 85–91, 93–94, 96, 98–99, 101
Spenser, Edmund: 68–69, 71, 73, 77
  The Faerie Queene: 68–69
  see also romance, Arthurian
  'Letter to Raleigh': 69, 77
  Shepheardes Calender: 68
structures, rhetorical: 234 n. 12, 238
  conclusio: 57 n. 29, 113–14, 118, 219, 275
  confirmatio: 5, 8, 12, 275
  conquestio: 11–12, 16–18, 41, 256, 258–59, 261, 263
  cursus: 49 n. 13, 110, 115, 195 n. 8
  exordium: 29, 113–14, 116, 118, 271, 275
  peroratio: 13, 275
  petitio: 113–14, 116–18, 275
  refutatio: 275
  salutatio: 112–14, 217, 274 n. 20, 275
stoics: 4–6, 9, 47, 55
studium: 5–6, 9, 11, 19

Thierry of Chartres: 4, 10–11, 14–19, 27, 30, 38, 48–49, 51, 55
  Heptateuchon: 15–17, 19
Thornton, Robert: 149–50, 170
  manuscripts: 150–51

Victor, C. Julius: 10, 274
  Ars rhetorica: 274
Victorinus, Marius: 7–11, 22, 29, 38–39, 47, 49–50, 58, 63, 272
  Explanationes: 7–8, 10
Virgil (Maro, Publius Vergilius): xx, 42–43, 46–47, 49, 67, 112 n. 21, 254, 257 n. 20, 258 nn. 20–21, 260 n. 27, 264
  Aeneid: 12 n. 19, 42–43, 254, 255 n. 8, 256, 257 n. 20, 258 nn. 20–21, 260 n. 27, 265
  Aeneas: 43, 111 n. 21, 256–59
  Dido: xv, 11 n. 19, 12 n. 19, 43, 43 n. 85, 253–54, 256–62, 259 n. 25, 260 n. 28, 265 nn. 43–44, 264–65
virtue: xiii, 4–5, 8–9, 15, 51–55, 77, 176, 194, 196, 208, 208 n. 82, 245, 262
  virtus: 8, 123, 194

William (of Champeaux?): xiii, 19 n. 40, 21, 25, 27 n. 25, 29 n. 30, 27–29, 30 n. 32, 32 nn. 44–45, 33 n. 48, 34 nn. 48–49, 35 n. 51, 36 n. 53, 36 n. 56, 38 nn. 59–61, 39 n. 62, 32–40, 45 n. 2, 46 n. 3, 42–46, 51 n. 18, 48–51, 54 n. 25, 53–54, 59, 61 n. 39, 62 n. 41, 62 n. 42, 61–62, 254 n. 5

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Mary-Jo Arn, Medieval Academy of America
Linda Bensel-Meyers, University of Denver
Julia Boffey, Queen Mary University of London
Mary J. Carruthers, New York University
Nancy Christiansen, Brigham Young University
Thomas Conley, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Rita Copeland, University of Pennsylvania
Georgiana Donavin, Westminster College
Martha Driver, Pace University
A. S .G. Edwards, University of Kent
Mike Edwards, University of Roehampton, London
Johannes Engel, Universität zu Köln
Susanna Fein, Kent State University
Joerg Fichte, Universität Tübingen
Karin Margareta Fredborg, University of Copenhagen
Leslie Gardner, University of Indianapolis
Lori Garner, Rhodes College
Richard Glejzer, Marlboro College
Teodoro Hampe-Martinez, Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing
Judith Rice Henderson, University of Saskatchewan
Tadahiro Ikegami, Seijo University
Karin Karlsson, Göteborg University
Gabriele Knapp, University of Bamberg
Manfred Kraus, Universität Tübingen
Jameela Lares, University of Southern Mississippi
Peter Mack, University of Warwick
Kees Meerhoff, University of Amsterdam
Peter Mortensen, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
James J. Murphy, University of California, Davis

Richard Newhauser, Arizona State University
Jordyn Page, Independent Scholar
John Prendergast, Southern Illinois University
Emil Polak, City University of New York
Carol Poster, Independent Scholar
David Raybin, Eastern Illinois University
Malcolm Richardson, Louisiana State University
Martha Dana Rust, New York University
Timothy Spence, Independent Scholar
Luigi Spina, Universitá degli Studi di Napoli Federico II
Denise Stodola, Kettering University
Robert Sullivan, Ithaca College
Christine Mason Sutherland, University of Calgary
Scott Troyan, University of Wisconsin
Vessela Valiavitcharska, University of Maryland
M. G. M. van der Poel, Radboud University Nijmegen
Peter von Moos, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
Charles Vulliez, University of Reims
John O. Ward, University of Sydney
Marjorie Curry Woods, University of Texas at Austin

DISPUTATIO

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

Titles in Series

Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540: Essays in Honour of John O. Ward, ed. By Constant J. Mews, Cary J. Nederman, and Rodney M. Thomson (2003)

The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification, ed. by Nils Holger Petersen, Mette Birkedal Bruun, Jeremy Llewellyn, and Eyolf Østrem (2004)

Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflection on the Medieval Sermon, ed. by Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman, and Richard Utz (2004)

Ineke van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life: Religious Literature and Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (2004)

Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pisan, ed. by Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (2005)

Maria Dobozy, *Re-Membering the Present: The Medieval German Poet-Minstrel in Cultural Context* (2005)

The World of Marsilius of Padua, ed. by Gerson Moreno-Riaño (2006)

Jason Taliadoros, *Law and Theology in Twelfth-Century England: The Works of Master Vacarius (c. 1115/20–c. 1200)* (2006)

Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages, 1200–1500, ed. by István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (2007)

What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys (2008)

Sabina Flanagan, *Doubt in an Age of Faith: Uncertainty in the Long Twelfth Century* (2008)

'Sapientia et Eloquentia': Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages, ed. by Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell (2009)

James M. Blythe, *The Life and Works of Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca)* (2009)

James M. Blythe, *The Worldview and Thought of Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca)* (2009)

John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts, ed. by Malte Urban (2009)

Mind Matters: Studies of Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual History in Honour of Marcia Colish, ed. by Cary J. Nederman, Nancy Van Deusen, and E. Ann Matter (2009)

Romance and Rhetoric: Essays in Honour of Dhira B. Mahoney, ed. by Georgiana Donavin and Anita Obermeier (2010)

Jeremy Tambling, *Dante in Purgatory: States of Affect* (2010)

Kenneth Rooney, *Mortality and Imagination: The Life of the Dead in Medieval English Literature* (2012)

David Bloch, *John of Salisbury on Aristotelian Science* (2012)

Studies on Medieval Empathies, ed. by Karl F. Morrison and Rudolph M. Bell (2013)

The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom: The Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, ed. by Juanita Feros Ruys, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth (2013)

Uncertain Knowledge: Scepticism, Relativism, and Doubt in the Middle Ages, ed. by Dallas G. Denery II, Kantik Ghosh, and Nicolette Zeeman (2014)

Erasmus and the Renaissance Republic of Letters, ed. by Stephen Ryle (2014)

Misty Schieberle, *Feminized Counsel and the Literature of Advice in England, 1380–1500* (2014)

John of Paris: Beyond Royal and Papal Power, ed. by Chris Jones (2015)